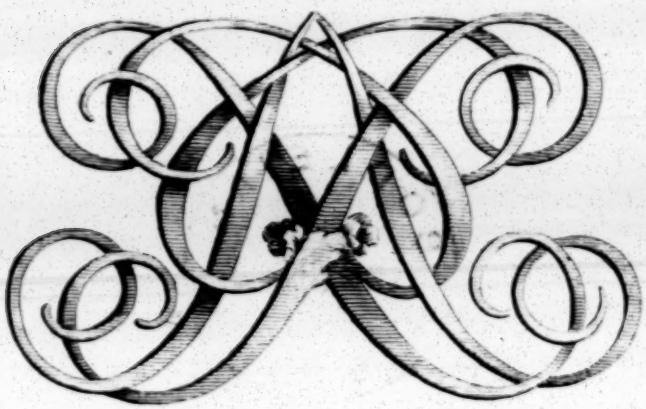
MISCELLANIES.

THE

FIRST VOLUME.



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MDCCXXXI.

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A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

Contests and Dissentions

Between the

NOBLES and the COMMONS in ATHENS and ROME; with the Consequences they had upon both those STATES.

——— *Si tibi vera videtur,*
Dede manus, & si falsa est, accingere contra. LUCRET.

Written in the Year 1701.

CHAP. I.

'TIS agreed that in all Government there is an absolute unlimited Power, which naturally and originally seems to be placed in the whole Body, wherever the executive Part of it lies. This holds in the Body-natural; for

wherever we place the Beginning of Motion, whether from the Head, or the Heart, or the animal Spirits in General, the Body moves and acts by a Conſent of all its Parts. This unlimited Power placed fundamentally in the Body of a People, is what the Legiſlators of all Ages have endeavour'd, in their ſeveral Schemes or Inſtitutions of Government, to depoſite in ſuch Hands as would preſerve the Publick from Rapine and Oppreſſion within, as well as Violence from without. Moſt of them ſeem to agree in this, That it was a Truſt too great to be committed to any one Man or Aſſembly, and therefore they left the Right ſtill in the whole Body; but the Adminiſtration or Executive Part, in the Hands of *One*, the *Few*, or the *Many*, into which three Powers all independent Bodies of Men ſeem naturally to divide; for by all I have read of thoſe innumerable and petty Commonwealths in *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Sicily*, as well as the great ones of *Carthage* and *Rome*, it ſeems to me, that a free People met together, whether by *Compact*, or *Family Government*, as ſoon as they fall into any Acts of Civil Society, do, of themſelves, divide into three Powers. The Firſt is that of ſome one eminent Spirit, who having ſignaliz'd his Valour and Fortune in Defence of his Country, or by the Practice of popular Arts at Home, becomes to have great Influence on the People, to grow their Leader in warlike Expeditions, and to preſide, after a Sort, in their civil Aſſemblies; and this is grounded upon the Principles of Nature and common Reaſon,

ſon, which in all Difficulties or Dangers, where Prudence or Courage are required, do rather incite us to fly for Counſel or Aſſiſtance to a ſingle Perſon, than a Multitude. The ſecond natural Diviſion of Power, is of ſuch Men who have acquired large Poſſeſſions, and conſequently Dependances, or deſcend from Anceſtors who have left them great Inheritances, together with an hereditary Authority. Theſe eaſily uniting in Thoughts and Opinions, and acting in Concert, begin to enter upon Meaſures for ſecuring their Properties, which are beſt upheld by preparing againſt Invaſions from abroad, and maintaining Peace at home: This commences a great Council or Senate of Nobles for the weighty Affairs of the Nation. The laſt Diviſion, is of the Maſs or Body of the People, whoſe Part of Power is great and indiſputable, whenever they can unite either collectively, or by Deputation, to exert it. Now the three Forms of Government, ſo generally known in the Schools, differ only by the Civil Adminiſtration being placed in the Hands of One, or ſometimes Two, (as in *Sparta*) who were called *Kings*; or in a Senate, who were called the *Nobles*; or in the People collective or repreſentative, who may be called the *Commons*. Each of theſe had frequently the executive Power in *Greece*, and ſometimes in *Rome*: But the Power in the laſt Reſort was always meant by Legiſlators to be held in Balance among all three. And it will be an eternal Rule in Politicks among every free People, that there is a Balance of Power to be

carefully held by every State within it ſelf, as well as among ſeveral States with each other.

THE true Meaning of a Balance of Power, either without or within a State, is beſt conceived by conſidering what the Nature of a Balance is. It ſuppoſes three Things: Firſt, The Part which is held, together with the Hand that holds it; and then the two Scales, with whatever is weighed therein. Now conſider ſeveral States in a Neighbourhood; in order to preſerve Peace between theſe States, it is neceſſary they ſhould be form'd into a Balance, whereof one or more are to be Directors, who are to divide the reſt into equal Scales, and upon Occaſions remove from one into the other, or elſe fall with their own Weight into the lighteſt: So in a State within it ſelf, the Balance muſt be held by a third Hand, who is to deal the remaining Power with utmoſt Exactneſs into the ſeveral Scales. Now it is not neceſſary that the Power ſhould be equally divided between theſe three; for the Balance may be held by the weakeſt, who, by his Addreſs and Conduct, removing from either Scale, and adding of his own, may keep the Scales duly pois'd. Such was that of the two Kings of *Sparta*, the Conſular Power in *Rome*, that of the Kings of *Media* before the Reign of *Cyrus*, as repreſented by *Xenophon*; and that of the ſeveral limited States in the *Gothick* Inſtitution.

WHEN the Balance is broke, whether by the Negligence, Folly, or Weakneſs of the Hand that held it, or by mighty Weights fallen into either Scale, the Power will never continue long in equal Diviſion between the two remaining Parties, but (till the Balance is fixed a new) will run entirely into one. This gives the trueſt Account of what is underſtood in the moſt antient and approved *Greek* Authors by the Word *Tyranny*, which is not meant for the Seizing of the uncontrolled or abſolute Power into the Hands of a ſingle Perſon, (as many ſuperficial Men have groſsly miſtaken) but for the breaking of the Balance by whatever Hand, and leaving the Power wholly in one Scale: For *Tyranny* and *Uſurpation* in a State, are by no Means confined to any Number, as might eaſily appear from Examples enough; and becauſe the Point is material, I ſhall cite a few to prove it.

THE [a] *Romans* having ſent to *Athens*, and the *Greek* Cities of *Italy*, for the Copies of the beſt Laws, choſe ten Legiſlators to put them into Form, and during the Exerciſe of their Office, ſuſpended the Conſular Power, leaving the Adminiſtration of Affairs in their Hands. Theſe very Men, though choſen for ſuch a Work, as the digeſting a Body of Laws for the Government of a free State, did immediately

[a] Dionyſ. Hal. l. 10.

uſurp Arbitrary Power, ran into all the Forms of it, had their Guards and Spies, after the Practice of the Tyrants of thoſe Ages, affected kingly State, deſtroy'd the Nobles, and oppreſs'd the People; one of them proceeding ſo far as to endeavour to force a Lady of great Virtue: The very Crime which gave Occaſion to the Expulſion of the regal Power but ſixty Years before, as this Attempt did to that of the *Decemviri*.

THE *Ephori* in *Sparta* were at firſt only certain Perſons deputed by the Kings to judge in Civil Matters, while *They* were employ'd in the Wars. Theſe Men at ſeveral Times uſurp'd the abſolute Authority, and were as cruel Tyrants as any in their Ages.

SOON [b] after the unfortunate Expedition into *Sicily*, the *Athenians* choſe four hundred Men for Adminiſtration of Affairs, who became a Body of Tyrants, and were called, in the Language of thoſe Ages, an *Oligarchy*, or Tyranny of the *Few*; under which hateful Denomination, they were ſoon after depoſed in great Rage by the People.

WHEN [c] *Athens* was ſubdued by *Lyſander*, he appointed thirty Men for the Adminiſtration of that City, who immediately fell into the rankeſt Tyranny: But this was not all; for

[b] Thucyd. lib. 8.

[c] Xenoph. de Rebus Græc. l. 2.

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conceiving their Power not founded on a *Basis* large enough, they admitted three Thousand into a Share of the Government; and thus fortified, became the cruellest Tyranny upon Record. They murder'd, in cold Blood, great Numbers of the best Men, without any Provocation, from the meer Lust of Cruelty, like *Nero* or *Caligula*. This was such a Number of Tyrants together, as amounted to near a third Part of the whole City: For [d] *Xenophon* tells us, that the City contained about ten Thousand Houses, and allowing one Man to every House, who could have any Share in the Government, (the rest consisting of Women, Children, and Servants;) and making other obvious Abatements, these Tyrants, if they had been careful to adhere together, might have been a Majority even of the People collective.

IN [e] the Time of the second *Punick* War, the Balance of Power in *Carthage* was got on the Side of the People, and that to a Degree, that some Authors reckon the Government to have been then among them a *Dominatio Plebis*, or *Tyranny of the Commons*, which it seems they were at all Times apt to fall into, and was at last among the Causes that ruin'd their State: And the frequent Murders of their Generals, which [f] *Diodorus* tells us was grown to an establish'd Custom among them, may be another

[d] Memorab. lib. 3. [e] Polyb. Frag. lib. 6. [f] Lib. 20.

Inſtance that Tyranny is not confined to Numbers.

I SHALL mention but one Example more, among a great Number that might be produced: [g] It is related by the Author laſt cited. The Orators of the People of *Argos* (whether you will ſtyle them in modern Phraſe, *Great Speakers of the Houſe*, or only, in General, Repreſentatives of the People collective) ſtirred up the Commons againſt the Nobles; of whom 1600 were murdered at once, and at laſt, the Orators themſelves, becauſe they left off their Accuſations, or, to ſpeak intelligibly, becauſe they *withdrew their Impeachments*; having, it ſeems, raiſed a Spirit they were not able to lay. And this laſt Circumſtance, as Caſes have lately ſtood, may perhaps be worth noting.

FROM what hath been already advanced, ſeveral Concluſions may be drawn.

Firſt, THAT a mix'd Government, partaking of the known Forms received in the Schools, is by no Means of *Gothick* Invention, but hath Place in Nature and Reaſon, ſeems very well to agree with the Sentiments of moſt Legiſlators, and to have been followed in moſt States, whether they have appeared under the Name of Monarchies, Ariſtocracies, or Democracies: For not to mention the ſeve-

[g] Lib. 15.

ral

ral Republicks of this Compoſition in *Gaul* and *Germany*, deſcribed by *Cæſar* and *Tacitus*, *Polybius* tells us, the beſt Government is that which conſiſts of three Forms, [h] *Regno, Optimatium, & Populi imperio.* Which may be fairly tranſlated, the *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*. Such was that of *Sparta*, in its primitive Inſtitution by *Lycurgus*; who, obſerving the Corruptions and Depravations to which every of theſe was ſubject, compounded his Scheme out of all; ſo that it was made up of *Reges, Seniores, & Populus.* Such alſo was the State of *Rome*, under its Conſuls: And the Author tells us, that the *Romans* fell upon this Model purely by Chance, (which I take to have been Nature and common Reaſon,) but the *Spartans* by Thought and Deſign. And ſuch at *Carthage* was the [i] *ſumma Reipublicæ*, or Power in the laſt Reſort; for they had their Kings call'd *Suffetes*, and a Senate which had the Power of *Nobles*, and the *People* had a Share eſtabliſh'd too.

Secondly, IT will follow, That thoſe Reaſoners who employ ſo much of their Zeal, their Wit, and their Leiſure, for the upholding the Balance of Power in Chriſtendom, at the ſame Time that by their Practices they are endeavouring to deſtroy it at home, are not ſuch mighty Patriots, or ſo much in the true Intereſt of their Country, as they would affect to

[h] Fragm. Lib. 6. [i] Id. ib.

be thought, but ſeem to be employed like a Man who pulls down with his Right Hand what he has been building with his Left.

Thirdly, THIS makes appear the Error of thoſe who think it an uncontroulable Maxim, that Power is always ſafer lodged in many Hands than in one: For if thoſe many Hands be made up only of one of the three Diviſions before mentioned, 'tis plain from thoſe Examples already produced, and eaſy to be parallel'd in other Ages and Countries, that they are as capable of enſlaving the Nation, and of acting all Manner of Tyranny and Oppreſſion, as it is poſſible for a ſingle Perſon to be, tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe their Number not only to be of four or five Hundred, but above three Thouſand.

AGAIN, it is manifeſt from what has been ſaid, that in order to preſerve the Balance in a mix'd State, the Limits of Power depoſited with each Party, ought to be aſcertained, and generally known. The Defect of this is the Cauſe that introduces thoſe Strugglings in a State about *Prerogative* and *Liberty*, about Encroachments of the *Few* upon the Rights of the *Many*, and of the *Many* upon the Privileges of the *Few*, which ever did, and ever will conclude in a Tyranny: Firſt, either of the *Few*, or the *Many*, but at laſt infallibly of a ſingle Perſon: For, which ever of the three Diviſions in a State is upon the Scramble for more Power than its own, (as one or other of them generally is) unleſs

unleſs due Care be taken by the other Two, upon every new Queſtion that ariſes, they will be ſure to decide in Favour of themſelves, talk much of inherent Right: They will nouriſh up a dormant Power, and reſerve the Privileges in *petto*, to exert upon Occaſions, to ſerve Expedients, and to urge upon Neceſſities. They will make large Demands, and ſcanty Conceſſions, ever coming off conſiderable Gainers: Thus at length the Balance is broke, and Tyranny let in; from which Door of the Three it matters not.

To pretend to a *declarative* Right upon any Occaſion whatſoever, is little leſs than to make Uſe of the whole Power, that is, to declare an Opinion to be Law, which has always been conteſted, or perhaps never ſtarted at all before ſuch an Incident brought it on the Stage. Not to conſent to the enacting of ſuch a Law, which has no View beſides the general Good, unleſs another Law ſhall at the ſame Time paſs, with no other View but that of advancing the Power of one Party alone; what is this but to claim a poſitive Voice, as well as a Negative? To pretend that great Changes and Alienations of Property have created new and great Dependences, and conſequently new Additions of Power, as ſome Reaſoners have done, in a moſt dangerous Tenet. If Dominion muſt follow Property, let it follow in the ſame Place; for Changes in Property through the Bulk of a Nation, makes ſlow Marches, and its due Power always at-

tends it. To conclude, that whatever Attempt is begun by an Aſſembly, ought to be purſued to the End, without Regard to the greateſt Incidents that may happen to alter the Caſe: To count it mean, and below the *Dignity of a Houſe*, to quit a Proſecution; to reſolve upon a Concluſion before it is poſſible to be appriſed of the Premiſſes; to act thus, I ſay, is to affect not only abſolute Power, but Infallibility too. Yet ſuch unaccountable Proceedings as theſe have popular Aſſemblies engaged in, for want of fixing the due Limits of *Power* and *Privilege*.

GREAT Changes may indeed be made in a Government, yet the Form continue, and the Balance be held: But large Intervals of Time muſt paſs between every ſuch Innovation, enough to melt down and make it of a Piece with the Conſtitution. Such, we are told, were the Proceedings of *Solon*, when he modelled anew the *Athenian* Commonwealth; and what Convulſions in our own, as well as other States, have been bred by a Neglect of this Rule, is freſh and notorious enough; 'Tis too ſoon in all Conſcience to repeat this Error again.

HAVING ſhewn that there is a natural Balance of Power in all free States, and how it has been divided, ſometimes by the People themſelves, as in *Rome*; at others by the Inſtitutions of the Legiſlators, as in the ſeveral States of *Greece* and *Sicily*; the next Thing is to examine what Methods have been taken to break or overthrow

throw this Balance, which every of the three Parties have continually endeavour'd, as Opportunities have ſerv'd; as might appear from the Stories of moſt Ages and Countries: For abſolute Power, in a particular State, is of the ſame Nature with univerſal Monarchy in ſeveral States adjoining to each other. So endleſs and exorbitant are the Deſires of Men, whether conſider'd in their Perſons or their States, that they will graſp at all, and can form no Scheme of perfect Happineſs with leſs. Ever ſince Men have been united into Governments, the Hopes and Endeavours after univerſal Monarchy have been bandied among them, from the Reign of *Ninus*, to this of the *Moſt Chriſtian King*; in which Purſuits Commonwealths have had their Share as well as Monarchs: So the *Athenians*, the *Spartans*, the *Thebans*, and the *Achaians*, did ſeveral times aim at the univerſal Monarchy of *Greece*: So the Commonwealths of *Carthage* and *Rome* affected the univerſal Monarchy of the then known World. In like manner has abſolute Power been purſued by the ſeveral Parties of each particular State; wherein ſingle Perſons have met with moſt Succeſs, though the Endeavours of the *Few* and the *Many* have been frequent enough: But, being neither ſo uniform in their Deſigns, nor ſo direct in their Views, they neither could manage nor maintain the Power they had got; but were ever deceived by the Popularity and Ambition of ſome ſingle Perſon. So that it will be always a wrong Step in Policy, for the *Nobles* or *Commons* to carry their Endeavours

deavours after Power ſo far, as to overthrow the Balance; and it would be enough to damp their Warmth in ſuch Purſuits, if they could once reflect, that in ſuch a Courſe they will be ſure to run upon the very Rock they meant to avoid; which I ſuppoſe they would have us think is the Tyranny of a ſingle Perſon.

MANY Examples might be produc'd of the Endeavours from each of theſe three Rivals, after abſolute Power: But I ſhall ſuit my Diſcourſe to the Time I am writing in, and relate only ſuch Diſſentions between the *Nobles* and *Commons*, with the Conſequences of them, in *Greece* and *Rome*, wherein the latter were the Aggreſſors.

I ſhall begin with *Greece*, where my Obſervations ſhall be confin'd to *Athens*, though ſeveral Inſtances might be brought from other States thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Diſſentions in ATHENS, *between the* Few *and the* Many.

THESEUS is the firſt who is recorded, with any Appearance of Truth, to have brought

brought the *Grecians* from a barbarous manner of Life, among ſcattered Villages, into Cities; and to have eſtabliſhed the *popular State* in *Athens*, aſſigning to himſelf the Guardianſhip of the Laws, and chief Command in War. He was forced after ſome time to leave the *Athenians* to their own Meaſures, upon account of their ſeditious Temper, which ever continued with them, till the final Diſſolution of their Government by the *Romans*. It ſeems, the Countrey about *Attica* was the moſt barren of any in *Greece*; through which means it happened that the Natives were never expelled by the Fury of Invaders, (who thought it not worth a Conqueſt,) but continued always *Aborigines*; and therefore retained, through all Revolutions, a Tincture of that turbulent Spirit wherewith their Government began. This Inſtitution of *Theſeus* appears to have been rather a ſort of mix'd Monarchy, than a popular State, and for ought we know, might continue ſo during the Series of Kings 'till the Death of *Codrus*. From this laſt Prince, *Solon* was ſaid to be deſcended; who finding the People engaged in two violent Factions, of the Poor and the Rich, and in great Confuſion thereupon; refuſing the Monarchy which was offered him, choſe rather to caſt the Government after another Model, wherein he made due Proviſions for ſettling the Balance of Power, chuſing a Senate of four Hundred, and diſpoſing the Magiſtracies and Offices according to Mens Eſtates; leaving to the Multitude their Votes in electing, and the Power

Power of judging certain Proceſſes by Appeal. This Council of four Hundred was choſen, one Hundred out of each Tribe, and ſeems to have been a Body Repreſentative of the People; tho' the People collective reſerved a Share of Power to themſelves. It is a Point of Hiſtory perplexed enough; but thus much is certain, that the Balance of Power was provided for; elſe *Piſiſtratus* (called by Authors the Tyrant of *Athens*) could never have govern'd ſo peaceably as he did, * without changing any of *Solon*'s Laws. Theſe ſeveral Powers together with that of the *Archon*, or Chief Magiſtrate, made up the Form of Government in *Athens*, at what Time it began to appear upon the Scene of Action and Story.

THE firſt great Man bred up under this Inſtitution was *Miltiades*, who liv'd about Ninety Years after *Solon*, and is reckon'd to have been the firſt great Captain, not only of *Athens*, but of all *Greece*. From the Time of *Miltiades* to that of *Phocion*, who is look'd upon as the laſt famous General of *Athens*, are about 130 Years: After which they were ſubdued and inſulted by *Alexander*'s Captains, and continued under ſeveral Revolutions, a ſmall truckling State of no Name or Reputation, till they fell with the reſt of *Greece* under the Power of the *Romans*.

* Herodot. lib. 1.

DURING

DURING this Period from *Miltiades* to *Phocion*, I ſhall trace the Conduct of the *Athenians*, with relation to their Diſſentions between the People and ſome of their Generals; who, at that time, by their Power and Credit in the Army, in a War-like Commonwealth, and often ſupported by each other, were, with the Magiſtrates and other Civil Officers, a ſort of Counterpoiſe to the Power of the People, who ſince the Death of *Solon* had already made great Encroachments. What theſe Diſſentions were, how founded, and what the Conſequences of them, I ſhall briefly and impartially relate.

I MUST here premiſe, that the *Nobles* in *Athens* being not at this Time a Corporate Aſſembly that I can gather; therefore the Reſentments of the Commons were uſually turned againſt particular Perſons, and by way of Articles of Impeachment. Whereas, the Commons in *Rome*, and ſome other States, (as will appear in proper Place) though they followed this Method upon Occaſion, yet generally purſued the Enlargement of their Power, by more ſet Quarrels of one entire Aſſembly againſt another. However, the Cuſtom of particular Impeachments being not limited to former Ages, any more than that of general Struggles and Diſſentions betwixt fix'd Aſſemblies of Nobles and Commons; and the Ruin of *Greece* having been owing to the former, as that of *Rome* was to the latter, I ſhall treat on both expreſsly; that thoſe States

States who are concerned in either (if at leaſt, there be any ſuch now in the World) may, by obſerving the Means and the Iſſues of former Diſſentions, learn whether the Cauſes are alike in theirs; and if they find them to be ſo, may conſider whether they ought not juſtly to apprehend the ſame Effects.

To ſpeak of every particular Perſon impeached by the Commons of *Athens*, within the Compaſs deſigned, would introduce the Hiſtory of almoſt every great Man they had among them: I ſhall therefore take notice only of Six, who living in that Period of Time when *Athens* was at the Height of its Glory, (as indeed it could not be otherwiſe while ſuch Hands were at the Helm,) though *impeach'd for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors*, ſuch *as Bribery, Arbitrary Proceedings, miſapplying or imbezzling publick Funds, ill Conduct at Sea*, and the like, were honoured and lamented by their Countrey, as the Preſervers of it, and have had the Veneration of all Ages ſince paid juſtly to their Memories.

MILTIADES was one of the *Athenian* Generals againſt the *Perſian* Power, and the famous Victory at *Marathon* was chiefly owing to his Valour and Conduct. Being ſent ſome time after to reduce the Iſland *Paros*, he miſtook a great Fire at diſtance for the *Fleet*, and being no ways a Match for them, ſet Sail for *Athens*; at his Arrival he was *impeach'd* by the Commons for Treachery, though not able to appear by reaſon

reaſon of his Wounds, fin'd 30000 Crowns, and died in Priſon. Though the Conſequences of this Proceeding upon the Affairs of *Athens*, were no otherwiſe than by the untimely Loſs of ſo great and good a Man, yet I could not forbear relating it.

THEIR next great Man was *ARISTIDES:* Beſides the mighty Service he had done his Countrey in the Wars, he was a Perſon of the ſtricteſt Juſtice, and beſt acquainted with the Laws as well as Forms of their Government, ſo that he was in a manner Chancellor of *Athens.* This Man, upon a ſlight and falſe Accuſation of *favouring Arbitrary Power*, was baniſh'd by *Oſtraciſm*; which, render'd into modern *Engliſh*, would ſignify that they voted *he ſhould be removed from their Preſence and Councils for ever.* But, however, they had the Wit to recal him, and to that Action owed the Preſervation of their State by his future Services. For it muſt be ſtill confeſſed in Behalf of the *Athenian* People, that they never conceived themſelves perfectly infallible, nor arrived to the Heights of *modern Aſſemblies*, to make *Obſtinacy* confirm what *ſudden Heat* and *Temerity* began. They thought it not below the Dignity of an Aſſembly to endeavour at correcting an ill Step; at leaſt to repent, tho' it often fell out too late.

THEMISTOCLES was at firſt a *Commoner* himſelf: It was he that raiſed the *Athenians* to their Greatneſs at Sea, which he thought to

to be the true and conſtant Intereſt of that Commonwealth; and the famous Naval Victory over the *Perſians* at *Salamis* was owing to his Conduct. It ſeems the People obſerved ſomewhat of Haughtineſs in his Temper and Behaviour, and therefore baniſh'd him for five Years; but finding ſome ſlight Matter of Accuſation againſt him, they ſent to ſeize his Perſon, and he hardly eſcaped to the *Perſian* Court; from whence, if the Love of his Countrey had not ſurmounted its baſe Ingratitude to him, he had many Invitations to return at the Head of the *Perſian* Fleet, and take a terrible Revenge: But he rather choſe a voluntary Death.

THE People of *Athens* impeached *PERICLES* for *miſapplying the publick Revenues to his own private Uſe:* He had been a Perſon of great Deſervings from the Republick, was an *admirable Speaker*, and very popular. *His Accounts were confuſed, and he could not then give them up*; therefore merely to divert that Difficulty, and the Conſequences of it, he was forced to engage his Countrey in the *Peloponneſian* War, the longeſt that ever was known in *Greece*, and which ended in the utter Ruin of *Athens*.

THE ſame People having reſolved to ſubdue *Sicily*, ſent a mighty Fleet under the Command of *Nicias*, *Lamachus*, and *ALCIBIADES*; the two former, Perſons of Age and Experience; the laſt a young Man of noble Birth, excellent Education, and a plentiful Fortune. A little before

before the Fleet ſet ſail, it ſeems one Night, the Stone Images of *Mercury*, placed in ſeveral Parts of the City, were all pared in the Face: This Action the *Athenians* interpreted for a Deſign of deſtroying the popular State; and *Alcibiades* having been formerly noted for the like Frolicks and Excurſions, was immediately accuſed of this. He, whether conſcious of his Innocence, or aſſured of the Secrecy, offered to come to his Trial before he went to his Command; this the *Athenians* refuſed. But as ſoon as he was got to *Sicily*, they ſent for him back, deſigning to take the Advantage, and proſecute him in the Abſence of his Friends, and of the Army, where he was very powerful. It ſeems, he underſtood the Reſentments of a popular Aſſembly too well to truſt them; and therefore, inſtead of returning, eſcaped to *Sparta*; where his Deſires of Revenge prevailing over his Love to his Countrey, he became its greateſt Enemy. Mean while, the *Athenians* before *Sicily*, by the Death of one Commander, and the Superſtition, Weakneſs, and perfect ill Conduct of the other, were utterly deſtroy'd, the whole Fleet taken, a miſerable Slaughter made of the Army, whereof hardly one ever returned. Some time after this, *Alcibiades* was recalled upon his own Conditions, by the Neceſſities of the People; and made chief Commander at Sea and Land; but his Lieutenant engaging againſt his poſitive Orders, and being beaten by *Lyſander*, *Alcibiades* was again diſgraced and baniſhed. However, the *Athenians* having loſt all Strength and Heart ſince their Miſfor-

Misfortune at *Sicily*, and now deprived of the only Perſon that was able to recover their Loſſes, repent of their Raſhneſs, and endeavour in vain for his Reſtoration; the *Perſian* Lieutenant, to whoſe Protection he fled, making him a Sacrifice to the Reſentments of *Lyſander* the General of the *Lacedemonians*, who now reduces all the Dominions of the *Athenians*, takes the City, raſes their Walls, ruins their Works, and changes the Form of their Government; which though again reſtored for ſome Time by *Thraſybulus* (as their Walls were rebuilt by *Conon*) yet here we muſt date the Fall of the *Athenian* Greatneſs; the Dominion and chief Power in *Greece*, from that Period, to the Time of *Alexander the Great*, which was about fifty Years, being divided between the *Spartans* and *Thebans*. Though *Philip*, *Alexander*'s Father, (*the moſt Chriſtian King* of that Age) had indeed ſome time before begun to break in upon the Republicks of *Greece*, by Conqueſt or *Bribery*; particularly *dealing large Money among ſome popular Orators*, by which he brought many of them, (as the Term of Art was then) to *Philippize*.

In the Time of *Alexander* and his Captains, the *Athenians* were offered an Opportunity of preſerving their Liberty, and being reſtored to their former State; but the wiſe Turn they thought to give the Matter, was by an Impeachment and Sacrifice of the Author, to hinder the Succeſs. For, after the Deſtruction of *Thebes* by

by *Alexander*, this Prince deſigning the Conqueſt of *Athens*, was prevented by *PHOCION* the *Athenian* General, then Ambaſſador from that State; who by his great Wiſdom and Skill at Negociations, diverted *Alexander* from his Deſign, and reſtored the *Athenians* to his Favour. The very ſame Succeſs he had with *Antipater* after *Alexander*'s Death, at which Time the Government was new regulated by *Solon*'s Laws: But *Polyperchon*, in Hatred to *Phocion*, having by Order of the young King (whoſe Governour he was) reſtored thoſe whom *Phocion* had baniſhed; the Plot ſucceeded. *Phocion* was accuſed by popular Orators, and put to Death.

THUS was the moſt powerful Commonwealth of all *Greece*, after great Degeneracies from the Inſtitution of *Solon*, utterly deſtroy'd by that raſh, jealous, and inconſtant Humour of the People, which was never ſatisfied to ſee a General either *victorious* or *unfortunate*; ſuch ill Judges, as well as Rewarders, have *popular Aſſemblies* been, of thoſe who beſt deſerved from them.

NOW the Circumſtance which makes theſe Examples of more Importance, is, that this very Power of the People in *Athens*, claimed ſo confidently for an *inherent Right*, and inſiſted on as the *undoubted Privilege of an* Athenian *born*, was the rankeſt Encroachment imaginable, and the groſſeſt Degeneracy from the Form that *Solon* left them. In ſhort, their Government was grown

grown into a *Dominatio Plebis*, or *Tyranny of the People*, who by degrees had broke and overthrown the Balance which that Legiſlator had very well fixed and provided for. This appears not only from what has been already ſaid of that Lawgiver; but more manifeſtly from a Paſſage in *Diodorus*; who tells us, [1] *That* Antipater, *one of* Alexander's *Captains, abrogated the popular Government (in* Athens) *and reſtored the Power of Suffrages and Magiſtracy, to ſuch only as were worth two thouſand Drachma's; by which means,* (ſays he) *that Republick came to be* [*again*] *adminiſter'd by the Laws of* Solon. By this Quotation, 'tis manifeſt that great Author look'd upon *Solon*'s Inſtitution, and a popular Government, to be two different Things. And as for this Reſtoration by *Antipater*, it had neither Conſequence nor Continuance worth obſerving.

I MIGHT eaſily produce many more Examples, but theſe are ſufficient: And it may be worth the Reader's Time to reflect a little on the Merits of the Cauſe, as well as of the Men who had been thus dealt with by their Country. I ſhall direct him no further than by repeating, that *Ariſtides* was the moſt renowned by the People themſelves for his exact *Juſtice and Knowledge in the Law*: That *Themiſtocles* was a moſt fortunate Admiral, and had got a *mighty Victory over the great King of* Perſia's *Fleet*: That *Pericles* was an *able Miniſter of State, an excellent*

[1] Lib. 18.

Orator

Orator, and a Man of Letters: And laſtly, that *Phocion*, beſides the Succeſs of his Arms, was alſo renowned for his *Negotiations abroad, having in an Embaſſy brought the greateſt Monarch of the World at that time, to the Terms of an honourable Peace, by which his Country was preſerved.*

I SHALL conclude my Remarks upon *Athens*, with the Character given us of that People by *Polybius*. *About this time* (ſays he) *the* Athenians *were governed by two Men, quite ſunk in their Affairs; had little or no Commerce with the reſt of* Greece, *and were become great Reverencers of crown'd Heads.*

FOR from the Time of *Alexander*'s Captains, till *Greece* was ſubdued by the *Romans* (to the latter Part of which this Deſcription of *Polybius* falls in) *Athens* never produced one famous Man either for Councils or Arms, or hardly for Learning. And indeed it was a dark inſipid Period through all *Greece:* For except the *Achaian* League under *Aratus* and *Philopœmen*; and the Endeavours of *Agis* and *Cleomenes* to reſtore the State of *Sparta*, ſo frequently haraſſed by Tyrannies occaſioned by the popular Practices of the *Ephori*, there was very little worth recording. All which Conſequences may perhaps be juſtly imputed to this Degeneracy of *Athens*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Diſſentions between the Patricians and Plebeians in Rome, *with the Conſequences they had upon that State.*

HAVING in the foregoing Chapter confined my ſelf to the Proceedings of the Commons only by the Method of *Impeachments* againſt particular Perſons, with the fatal Effects they had upon the State of *Athens*, I ſhall now treat of the Diſſentions at *Rome* between the People and the collective Body of the *Patricians* or *Nobles*. It is a large Subject, but I ſhall draw it into as narrow a Compaſs as I can.

As *Greece*, from the moſt ancient Accounts we have of it, was divided into ſeveral Kingdoms, ſo was moſt Part of *Italy* [m] into ſeveral petty Commonwealths. And as thoſe Kings in *Greece* are ſaid to have been depoſed by their People upon the Score of their arbitrary Proceedings, ſo, on the contrary, the Commonwealths of *Italy* were all ſwallowed up, and con-

[m] Dionyſ. Halicar.

cluded

cluded in the Tyranny of the *Roman* Emperors. However, the Differences between thoſe *Grecian* Monarchies, and *Italian* Republicks, were not very great: For, by the Accounts *Homer* gives us of thoſe *Grecian* Princes who came to the Siege of *Troy*, as well as by ſeveral Paſſages in the *Odyſſes*; it is manifeſt, that the Power of theſe Princes in their ſeveral States, was much of a Size with that of the Kings in *Sparta*, the Archon at *Athens*, the Suffetes at *Carthage*, and the Conſuls in *Rome:* So that a limited and divided Power ſeems to have been the moſt ancient and inherent Principles of both thoſe People, in Matters of Government. And ſuch did that of *Rome* continue from the Time of *Romulus*, tho' with ſome Interruptions, to *Julius Cæſar*, when it ended in the Tyranny of a ſingle Perſon. During which Period, (not many Years longer than from the *Norman* Conqueſt to our Age) the Commons were growing by Degrees into Power and Property, gaining Ground upon the Patricians, as it were, Inch by Inch, till at laſt they quite overturned the Balance, leaving all Doors open to the Practices of popular and ambitious Men, who deſtroyed the wiſeſt Republick, and enſlaved the nobleſt People that ever enter'd upon the Stage of the World. By what Steps and Degrees this was brought to paſs, ſhall be the Subject of my preſent Enquiry.

WHILE *Rome* was governed by Kings, the Monarchy was altogether Elective. *Romulus*

himſelf, when he had built the City, was declared King by the univerſal Conſent of the People, and by Augury, which was there underſtood for *Divine Appointment*. Among other Diviſions he made of the People, one was into *Patricians* and *Plebeians*: The former were like the Barons of *England* ſome Time after the Conqueſt; and the latter are alſo deſcribed to be almoſt exactly what our Commons were then. For, they were Dependants upon the Patricians, whom they choſe for their Patrons and Protectors, to anſwer for their Appearance, and defend them in any Proceſs: They alſo ſupplied their Patrons with Money in Exchange for their Protection. This Cuſtom of *Patronage*, it ſeems, was very antient, and long practiſed among the *Greeks*.

Out of theſe Patricians, *Romulus* choſe an Hundred to be a *Senate*, or *Grand Council*, for Advice and Aſſiſtance to him in the Adminiſtration. The Senate therefore, originally conſiſted all of *Nobles*, and were of themſelves a *Standing Council*, the *People* being only convoked upon ſuch Occaſions, as by this Inſtitution of *Romulus* fell into their Cognizance: Thoſe were to conſtitute Magiſtrates, to give their Votes for making Laws, and to adviſe upon entering on a War. But the two former of theſe popular Privileges were to be confirmed by Authority of the Senate; and the laſt was only permitted at the King's Pleaſure. This was the utmoſt Extent of Power pretended to by the *Commons*

mons in the Time of *Romulus*; all the reſt being divided between the King and the Senate; the whole agreeing very nearly with the Conſtitution of *England* for ſome Centuries after the Conqueſt.

AFTER a Year's *Inter-regnum* from the Death of *Romulus*, the Senate of their own Authority choſe a Succeſſor, and a Stranger, meerly upon the Fame of his Virtue, without aſking the Conſent of the Commons, which Cuſtom they likewiſe obſerved in the two following Kings. But in the Election of *Tarquinius Priſcus* the fifth King, we firſt hear mentioned that it was done, *Populi impetrata venia*, which indeed was but very reaſonable for a free People to expect; tho' I cannot remember in my little Reading, by what Incidents they were brought to advance ſo great a Step. However it were, this Prince in Gratitude to the People, by whoſe Conſent he was choſen, elected a hundred Senators out of the Commons, whoſe Number with former Additions was now amounted to three Hundred.

THE People having once diſcovered their own Strength, did ſoon take Occaſion to exert it, and that by very great Degrees. For at this King's Death (who was murder'd by the Sons of a former) being at a Loſs for a Succeſſor, *Servius Tullius*, a Stranger, and of mean Extraction, was choſen Protector of the Kingdom, by the *People*, without the Conſent of the Se-

nate; at which the Nobles being diſpleaſed, he wholly applied himſelf to gratify the Commons, and was by them declared and confirmed no longer Protector, but King.

THIS Prince firſt introduced the Cuſtom of giving Freedom to Servants, ſo as to become Citizens of equal Privileges with the reſt, which very much contributed to increaſe the Power of the *People*.

THUS in a very few Years the Commons proceeded ſo far as to wreſt even the Power of chuſing a King, entirely out of the Hands of the Nobles; which was ſo great a Leap, and cauſed ſuch a Convulſion and Struggle in the State, that the Conſtitution could not bear it; but Civil Diſſentions aroſe, which immediately were followed by the Tyranny of a ſingle Perſon, as this was by the utter Subverſion of the Regal Government, and by a Settlement upon a new Foundation. For the Nobles ſpighted at this Indignity done them by the Commons, firmly united in a Body, depoſed this Prince by plain Force, and choſe *Tarquin the Proud*, who running into all the Forms and Methods of Tyranny, after a cruel Reign was expelled by an univerſal Concurrence of Nobles and People, whom the Miſeries of his Reign had reconciled.

WHEN the Conſular Government began, the Balance of Power between the Nobles and Plebeians

Plebeians was fixed a-new: The two firſt Conſuls were nominated by the Nobles, and confirmed by the Commons; and a Law was enacted, That no Perſon ſhould bear any Magiſtracy in *Rome*, *injuſſu Populi*, that is, without *Conſent of the Commons*.

IN ſuch turbulent Times as theſe, many of the pooreſt Citizens had contracted numerous Debts, either to the richer Sort among themſelves, or to Senators and other Nobles: And the Caſe of Debtors in *Rome*, for the firſt four [n] Centuries, was, after the ſett Time for Payment, no Choice but either to pay or be the Creditor's Slave. In this Juncture the Commons quit the City in Mutiny and Diſcontent, and will not return but upon Condition to be acquitted of all their Debts; and moreover, that certain Magiſtrates be choſen yearly, whoſe Buſineſs it ſhall be to defend the Commons from Injuries. Theſe are called *Tribunes of the People*, their Perſons are held ſacred and inviolable, and the People bind themſelves by Oath never to abrogate the Office. By theſe Tribunes in Proceſs of Time, the People were groſly impoſed on to ſerve the Turns and Occaſions of revengeful or ambitious Men, and to commit ſuch Exorbitances as could not end, but in the Diſſolution of the Government.

THESE Tribunes, a Year or two after

[n] Ab Urbe Conditâ.

their Inſtitution, kindled great Diſſention between the Nobles and the Commons, on the Account of *Coriolanus*, a Nobleman, whom the latter had *impeached*, and the Conſequences of whoſe Impeachment (if I had not confined my ſelf to *Grecian* Examples for that Part of my Subject) had like to have been ſo fatal to their State. And from this Time the Tribunes began a Cuſtom of accuſing to the People whatever Noble they pleas'd, ſeveral of whom were baniſh'd or put to Death in every Age.

At this Time the *Romans* were very much engaged in Wars with their neighbouring States; but upon the leaſt Intervals of Peace, the Quarrels between the Nobles and the Plebeians would revive; and one of the moſt frequent Subjects of their Differences was the *conquered Lands*, which the Commons would fain have divided among the Publick; but the Senate could not be brought to give their Conſent. For ſeveral of the wiſeſt among the Nobles began to apprehend the growing Power of the People; and therefore knowing what an Acceſſion thereof would accrue to them, by ſuch an Addition of Property, uſed all Means to prevent it: For this the *Appian* Family was moſt noted, and thereupon moſt hated by the Commons. One of whom having made a Speech againſt this Diviſion of Lands, was impeach'd by the People of High Treaſon, and a Day appointed for his Tryal; but diſdaining to make his Defence, choſe rather the uſual *Roman* Remedy of killing

ing himſelf: After whoſe Death the Commons prevailed, and the Lands were divided among them.

THIS Point was no ſooner gained, but new Diſſentions began: For the Plebeians would fain have a Law enacted to lay all Mens Rights and Privileges upon the ſame Level; and to enlarge the Power of every Magiſtrate within his own Juriſdiction, as much as that of the Conſuls. The Tribunes alſo obtained to have their Number doubled, which before was Five; and the Author tells us, ° that their Inſolence and Power increaſed with their Number, and the Seditions were alſo doubled with it.

BY the Beginning of the Fourth Century from the Building of *Rome*, the Tribunes proceeded ſo far in the Name of the Commons, as to accuſe and fine the Conſuls themſelves, who repreſented the Kingly Power. And the Senate obſerving, how in all Contentions they were forced to yield to the Tribunes and People, thought it their wiſeſt Courſe to give Way alſo to Time: Therefore a Decree was made to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Athens*, and to the other *Grecian* Commonwealths planted in that Part of *Italy*, call'd *Græcia Major*, to make a Collection of the beſt Laws; out of which, and ſome of their own, a new complete Body of Law was

° Dionyſ. Halicar.

formed, afterwards known by the Name of the *Laws of the Twelve Tables.*

To digeſt theſe Laws into Order, ten Men were choſen, and the Adminiſtration of all Affairs left in their Hands; what Uſe they made of it has been already ſhewn. It was certainly a great Revolution, produced entirely by the many unjuſt Encroachments of the People; and might have wholly changed the Fate of *Rome*, if the Folly and Vice of thoſe who were chiefly concern'd, could have ſuffered it to take Root.

A few Years after, the Commons made farther Advances on the Power of the Nobles; demanding among the reſt, that the Conſulſhip, which hitherto had only been diſpoſed to the former, ſhould now lie in common to the Pretenſions of any *Roman* whatſoever. This, tho' it fail'd at preſent, yet afterward obtained, and was a mighty Step to the Ruin of the Commonwealth.

What I have hitherto ſaid of *Rome*, has been chiefly collected out of that exact and diligent Writer *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, whoſe Hiſtory (thro' the Injury of Time) reaches no farther than to the Beginning of the fourth Century after the Building of *Rome*. The reſt I ſhall ſupply from other Authors; tho' I do not think it neceſſary to deduce this Matter any further,

ther, ſo very particularly as I have hitherto done.

TO point at what Time the Balance of Power was moſt equally held between the *Lords* and *Commons* in *Rome*, would perhaps admit a Controverſy. [q] *Polybius* tells us, that in the ſecond *Punick* War, the *Carthaginians* were declining, becauſe the Balance was got too much on the Side of the People; whereas the *Romans* were in their greateſt Vigour, by the Power remaining in the Senate; yet this was between two and three Hundred Years after the Period *Dionyſius* ends with; in which Time the Commons had made ſeveral further Acquiſitions. This however muſt be granted, that ('till about the Middle of the fourth Century) when the Senate appeared reſolute at any Time upon exerting their Authority, and adhered cloſely together, they did often carry their Point. [r] Beſides, it is obſerved by the beſt Authors, that in all the Quarrels and Tumults at *Rome*, from the Expulſion of the Kings, tho' the People frequently proceeded to rude contumelious Language, and ſometimes ſo far as to pull and hale one another about the *Forum*, yet no Blood was ever drawn in any popular Commotions, till the Time of the *Gracchi*: However, I am of Opinion, that the Balance had begun many Years before to lean to the popular Side. But this Default was corrected, partly by the Prin-

[q] Fragm. Lib. 6. [r] Dionyſ. Hal. Plutarch, &c.

ciple juſt mentioned, of never drawing Blood in a Tumult; partly by the warlike Genius of the People, which in thoſe Ages was almoſt perpetually employed; and partly by their great Commanders, who by the Credit they had in their Armies, fell into the Scales as a further Counterpoiſe to the growing Power of the People. Beſides, *Polybius*, who lived in the Time of *Scipio Africanus* the younger, had the ſame Apprehenſions of the continual Encroachments made by the Commons; and being a Perſon of as great Abilities, and as much Sagacity, as any of his Age, from obſerving the Corruptions which, he ſays, had already entered into the *Roman* Conſtitution, did very nearly foretel what would be the Iſſue of them. His Words are very remarkable, and with little Addition may be render'd to this Purpoſe. [t] *That theſe Abuſes and Corruptions which in Time deſtroy a Government, are ſown along with the very Seeds of it, and both grow up together; and that as Ruſt eats away Iron, and Worms devour Wood, and both are a ſort of Plagues born and bred along with the Subſtance they deſtroy; ſo with every Form and Scheme of Government that Man can invent, ſome Vice or Corruption creeps in with the very Inſtitution, which grows up along with, and at laſt deſtroys it.* [u] The ſame Author in another Place, ventures ſo far as to gueſs at the particular Fate which would attend the *Roman* Government. He ſays, its Ruin would ariſe from

[t] Lib. 5. [u] Fragm. Lib. 6.

the

the popular Tumults which would introduce a *Dominatio Plebis*, or Tyranny of the People; wherein 'tis certain he had Reaſon, and therefore might have adventured to purſue his Conjectures ſo far, as to the Conſequences of a popular Tyranny, which, as perpetual Experience teaches, never fails to be followed by the arbitrary Government of a ſingle Perſon.

ABOUT the Middle of the fourth Century from the Building of *Rome*, it was declared lawful for *Nobles* and *Plebeians* to intermarry; which Cuſtom, among many other States, has proved the moſt effectual Means to ruin the former, and raiſe the latter.

AND now the greateſt Employments in the State were one after another, by Laws forceably enacted by the *Commons*, made free to the People, the *Conſulſhip* it ſelf, the Office of *Cenſor*, that of the *Queſtors*, or *Commiſſioners of the Treaſury*, the Office of *Prætor*, or chief Juſtice, the *Prieſthood*, and even that of *Dictator*. The Senate, after long Oppoſition, yielding merely for preſent Quiet to the continual urging Clamours of the *Commons*, and of the *Tribunes* their Advocates. A Law was likewiſe enacted, that the *Plebiſcita*, or *a Vote of the Houſe of Commons*, ſhould be of univerſal Obligation, nay, in time the Method of enacting Laws was wholly inverted: For whereas the Senate uſed of old to confirm the *Plebiſcita*, the People did at laſt, as they

they pleaſed, confirm or diſannul the [1] *Senatuſconſulta.*

APPIUS CLAUDIUS brought in a Cuſtom of admitting to the Senate the Sons of freed Men, or of ſuch who had once been Slaves; by which, and ſucceeding Alterations of the like Nature, that great Council degenerated into a moſt corrupt and factious Body of Men, divided againſt it ſelf; and its Authority became deſpiſed.

THE Century and half following, to the End of the third *Punick* War by the Deſtruction of *Carthage*, was a very buſy Period at *Rome*: The Intervals between every War being ſo ſhort, that the *Tribunes* and *People* had hardly Leiſure or Breath to engage in domeſtick Diſſentions: However, the little Time they could ſpare, was generally employ'd the ſame Way. So *Terentius Leo*, a *Tribune*, is recorded to have baſely proſtituted the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen, in perfect Spight to the *Nobles*. So the great *African Scipio* and his Brother, after all their mighty Services, were impeached by an ungrateful *Commons*.

HOWEVER, the War-like Genius of the People, and continual Employment they had for it, ſerved to divert this Humour from running into a Head, till the Age of the *Gracchi*.

[1] Dionyſ. Lib. 2.

THESE

THESE Perſons entering the Scene in the Time of a full Peace, fell violently upon advancing the Power of the People, by reducing into Practice all thoſe Encroachments, which they had been ſo many Years a gaining. There were at that Time certain *conquered Lands* to be divided, beſide a *great private Eſtate left by a King*. Theſe the *Tribunes*, by Procurement of the elder *Gracchus*, declared by their legiſlative Authority, were not to be diſpoſed of by the the *Nobles*, but by the *Commons* only. The younger Brother purſued the ſame Deſign; and beſides, obtained a Law, that all *Italians* ſhould vote at Elections, as well as the Citizens of *Rome:* In ſhort, the whole Endeavours of them both perpetually turned upon retrenching the *Nobles* Authority in all Things, but eſpecially in the Matter of *Judicature*. And though they both loſt their Lives in thoſe Purſuits, yet they traced out ſuch Ways as were afterwards followed by *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, to the Ruin of the *Roman* Freedom and Greatneſs.

FOR, in the Time of *Marius*, *Saturnus* a Tribune procured a Law, that the Senate ſhould be bound by Oath to agree to whatever the People would enact: And *Marius* himſelf, while he was in that Office of Tribune, is recorded to have with great Induſtry uſed all Endeavours for depreſſing the *Nobles*, and raiſing the People, particularly for cramping the former in their

Power

Power of Judicature, which was *their moſt ancient inherent Right.*

SYLLA, by the ſame Meaſures, became perfect Tyrant of *Rome:* He added three hundred Commons to the Senate, which perplexed the Power of the whole Order, and render'd it ineffectual; then flinging off the Maſk, he aboliſhed the Office of Tribune, as being only a Scaffold to Tyranny, whereof he had no further Uſe.

AS to *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, *Plutarch* tells us, that their Union for pulling down the *Nobles*, (by their Credit with the People) was the Cauſe of the Civil War, which ended in the Tyranny of the latter; both of them in their Conſulſhips having uſed all Endeavours and Occaſions for ſinking the Authority of the *Patricians*, and giving way to all Encroachments of the People, wherein they expected beſt to find their own Account.

FROM this Deduction of popular Encroachments in *Rome*, the Reader will eaſily judge how much the Balance was fallen upon that Side. Indeed by this Time the very Foundation was removed, and it was a moral Impoſſibility that the Republick could ſubſiſt any longer: For the *Commons* having uſurp'd the Office of the State, and trampled on the Senate, there was no Government left but a *Dominatio Plebis.*

Let

Let us therefore examine how they proceeded in this Conjuncture.

I THINK it is an univerſal Truth, that the People are much more dextrous at pulling down and ſetting up, than at preſerving what is fix'd; and they are not fonder of ſeizing more than their own, than they are of delivering it up again to the *worſt Bidder*, with their own into the Bargain. For although in their corrupt Notions of divine Worſhip, they are apt to multiply their Gods; yet their earthly Devotion is ſeldom paid to above one Idol at a Time, of their own Creation; whoſe *Oar* they pull with leſs Murmuring and much more Skill, than when they *ſhare the Lading*, or even *hold the Helm*.

THE ſeveral Provinces of the *Roman* Empire were now governed by the great Men of their State; thoſe upon the Frontiers with powerful Armies, either for Conqueſt or Defence. Theſe Governors upon any Deſigns of Revenge or Ambition were ſure to meet with a divided Power at home, and therefore bent all their Thoughts and Applications to cloſe in with the People, who were now by many Degrees the ſtronger Party. Two of the greateſt Spirits that *Rome* ever produced, happen'd to live at the ſame Time, and to be engaged in the ſame Purſuit; and this at a Juncture the moſt dangerous for ſuch a Conteſt. Theſe were *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, two Stars of ſuch a Magnitude, that their

their *Conjunction* was as likely to be fatal as their *Oppoſition*.

THE *Tribunes* and People having now ſubdued all Competitors, began the laſt Game of a prevalent Populace, which is that of chuſing themſelves a *Maſter*; while the Nobles foreſaw, and uſed all Endeavours left them to prevent it. The People at firſt made *Pompey* their Admiral, with full Power over all the *Mediterranean*, ſoon after Captain-General of all the *Roman* Forces, and Governour of *Aſia*. *Pompey* on the other ſide reſtor'd the Office of *Tribune*, which *Sylla* had put down; and in his Conſulſhip procur'd a Law for *examining into the Miſcarriages of Men in Office or Command for twenty Years paſt*. Many other Examples of *Pompey*'s Popularity are left us on Record, who was a perfect Favourite of the People, and deſign'd to be more; but his Pretenſions grew ſtale, for want of a timely Opportunity of introducing them upon the Stage. For *Cæſar*, with his Legions in *Gaul*, was a perpetual Check upon his Deſigns; and in the Arts of pleaſing the People, did ſoon after get many Lengths beyond him. For he tells us himſelf that the Senate by a bold Effort having made ſome ſevere Decrees againſt his Proceedings, and againſt the Tribunes, theſe all left the City, and went over to his Party, and conſequently along with them the Affections and Intereſts of the People; which is further manifeſt from the Accounts he gives us of the Citizens, in ſeveral Towns, mutinying againſt their Commanders,

manders, and delivering both to his Devotion. Beſides, *Cæſar*'s publick and avowed Pretenſions for beginning the Civil War, were to reſtore the Tribunes and the People oppreſs'd (as he pretended) by the *Nobles*.

THIS forced *Pompey*, againſt his Inclinations, upon the Neceſſity of changing Sides, for fear of being forſaken by both; and of cloſing in with the Senate and chief Magiſtrates, by whom he was choſen General againſt *Cæſar*.

THUS at length the *Senate* (at leaſt the primitive Part of them, the Nobles) under *Pompey*, and the *Commons* under *Cæſar*, came to a final Deciſion of the long Quarrels between them. For, I think, the Ambition of private Men, did by no means begin or occaſion this War; tho' civil Diſſentions never fail of introducing and ſpiriting the Ambition of private Men; who thus became indeed the great Inſtruments for deciding of ſuch Quarrels, and at laſt are ſure to ſeize on the Prize. But no Man that ſees a Flock of Vultures hovering over two Armies ready to engage, can juſtly charge the Blood drawn in the Battle to them, though the Carcaſes fall to their Share. For while the Balance of Power is equally held, the Ambition of private Men, whether Orators or great Commanders, gives neither Danger nor Fear, nor can poſſibly enſlave their Countrey; but that once broken, the divided Parties are forced to unite each to its Head, under whoſe Conduct or Fortune

tune one Side is at firſt victorious, and at laſt both are Slaves. And to put it paſt Diſpute, that this entire Subverſion of the *Roman* Liberty and Conſtitution, was altogether owing to thoſe Meaſures which had broke the Balance between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, whereof the Ambition of particular Men was but an Effect and Conſequence, we need only conſider, that when the uncorrupted Part of the Senate, had by the Death of *Cæſar*, made one great Effort to reſtore their former State and Liberty, the Succeſs did not anſwer their Hopes, but that whole Aſſembly was ſo ſunk in its Authority, that thoſe Patriots were forced to fly, and give Way to the Madneſs of the People; who by their own Diſpoſitions, ſtirred up with the Harangues of their Orators, were now wholly bent upon ſingle and deſpotick Slavery. Elſe, how could ſuch a Profligate as *Antony*, or a Boy of eighteen, like *Octavius*, ever dare to dream of giving the Law to ſuch an Empire and People? wherein the latter ſucceeded, and entailed the vileſt Tyranny that Heaven in its Anger ever inflicted on a corrupt and poiſon'd People. And this, with ſo little Appearance at *Cæſar*'s Death, that when *Cicero* wrote to *Brutus*, how he had prevailed by his Credit with *Octavius*, to promiſe him *(Brutus)* Pardon and Security for his Perſon, that great *Roman* received the Notice with the utmoſt Indignity, and returned *Cicero* an Anſwer (yet upon Record) full of the higheſt Reſentment and Contempt for ſuch an Offer, and from ſuch a Hand.

HERE ended all Shew or Shadow of Liberty in *Rome*. Here was the Repoſitory of all the wiſe Contentions and Struggles for Power, between the Nobles and Commons, lap'd up ſafely in the Boſom of a *Nero* and a *Caligula*, a *Tiberius* and a *Domitian*.

LET us now ſee from this Deduction of particular Impeachments, and general Diſſentions in *Greece* and *Rome*, what Concluſions may naturally be formed for Inſtruction of any other State, that may haply, upon many Points, labour under the like Circumſtances.

CHAP. IV.

UPON the Subject of *Impeachments* we may obſerve, that the Cuſtom of accuſing the *Nobles* to the *People*, either by themſelves, or their Orators, (now ſtyled *an Impeachment in the Name of the Commons*) has been very ancient both in *Greece* and *Rome*, as well as *Carthage*; and therefore may ſeem to be the inherent Right of a free People, nay, perhaps it is really ſo: But then, it is to be conſidered, firſt, that this Cuſtom was peculiar to Republicks, or ſuch States where the Adminiſtration was principally in the Hands of the Commons, and ever raged more

more or leſs, according to their Encroachments upon abſolute Power; having been always looked upon by the wiſeſt Men, and beſt Authors of thoſe Times, as an Effect of Licentiouſneſs, and not of Liberty; a Diſtinction which no Multitude, either *repreſented* or *collective*, has been at any time very nice in obſerving. However, perhaps this Cuſtom in a popular State, of impeaching particular Men, may ſeem to be nothing elſe but the People's chuſing upon Occaſion, to exerciſe their own Juriſdiction in Perſon, as if a King of *England* ſhould ſit as Chief Juſtice in his Court of *King's Bench*, which, they ſay, in former Times he ſometimes did. But in *Sparta*, which was called a kingly Government, though the People were perfectly free, yet becauſe the Adminiſtration was in the two Kings, and the *Ephori*, (with the Aſſiſtance of the Senate) we read of no Impeachments by the People, nor was the Proceſs againſt great Men, either upon account of Ambition or ill Conduct, though it reach'd ſometimes to Kings themſelves, ever formed that Way, as I can recollect, but only paſs'd through thoſe Hands where the Adminiſtration lay. So likewiſe during the regal Government in *Rome*, though it was inſtituted a mix'd Monarchy, and the People made great Advances in Power, yet I do not remember to have read of one Impeachment from the Commons againſt a Patrician, 'till the conſular State began, and the People had made great Encroachments upon the Adminiſtration.

ANOTHER

ANOTHER Thing to be conſidered is, that allowing this Right of Impeaching to be as inherent as they pleaſe, yet, if the Commons have been perpetually miſtaken in the Merits of the Cauſes and Perſons, as well as in the Conſequences of ſuch Impeachments upon the Peace of the State, one cannot conclude leſs, than that the Commons in *Greece* and *Rome* (whatever they may be in other States) were by no Means qualified either as Proſecutors or Judges in ſuch Matters; and therefore, that it would have been prudent, to have reſerved theſe Privileges dormant, never to be produced but upon very great and urging Occaſions, where the State is in apparent Danger, the univerſal Body of the People in Clamours againſt the Adminiſtration, and no other Remedy in View. But for a few popular Orators or Tribunes, upon the Score of *perſonal Piques*; or *to employ the Pride they conceive in ſeeing themſelves at the Head of a Party*; or *as a Method for Advancement*; or *moved by certain powerful Arguments that could make* Demoſthenes *Philippize:* For ſuch Men, I ſay, when the State would of it ſelf gladly be quiet, and has, beſides, Affairs of the laſt Importance upon the Anvil, to *impeach* Miltiades, *after a great naval Victory, for not purſuing the* Perſian *Fleet: To impeach* Ariſtides, *the Perſon moſt verſed among them in the Knowledge and Practice of their Laws, for a blind Suſpicion of his acting in an arbitrary Way, (that is, as they expound it, not in Concert with the People:) To impeach*

peach Pericles, *after all his Services, for a few paultry Accounts; or to impeach* Phocion, *who had been guilty of no other Crime but negotiating a Treaty for the Peace and Security of his Country:* What could the Continuance of ſuch Proceedings end in, but the utter Diſcouragements of all virtuous Actions and Perſons, and conſequently in the Ruin of a State? Therefore the Hiſtorians of thoſe Ages ſeldom fail to ſet this Matter in all its Lights, leaving us the higheſt and moſt honourable *Ideas* of thoſe Perſons, who ſuffered by the Perſecution of the People, together with the fatal Conſequences they had, and how the Perſecutors ſeldom failed to repent when it was too late.

THESE Impeachments perpetually falling upon many of the beſt Men both in *Greece* and *Rome*, are a Cloud of Witneſſes, and Examples enough to diſcourage Men of Virtue and Abilities from engaging in the Service of the Publick; and help on t'other Side, to introduce the Ambitious, the Covetous, the Superficial, and the Ill-deſigning; who are as apt to be bold, and forward, and meddling, as the former are to be cautious, and modeſt, and reſerved. This was ſo well known in *Greece*, that an Eagerneſs after Employments in the State was look'd upon by wiſe Men, as the worſt Title one could ſet up; and made *Plato* ſay, *That if all Men were as good as they ought, the Quarrel in a Commonwealth would be, not as it is now, who* ſhould *be Miniſter of State, but who ſhould* not *be ſo.*

And

And [u] *Socrates* is introduced by *Xenophon*, severely chiding a Friend of his for not entering into the publick Service, when he was every Way qualified for it. Such a Backwardness there was at that Time among good Men to engage with an usurping People, and a Sett of *pragmatical ambitious Orators.* And [x] *Diodorus* tells us, that when the *Petalism* was erected at *Syracuse*, in Imitation of the *Ostracism* at *Athens*, it was so notoriously levelled against all who had either Birth or Merit to recommend them, that whoever had either, withdrew for Fear, and would have no Concern in publick Affairs. So that the People themselves were forced to abrogate it for fear of bringing all Things into Confusion.

THERE is one Thing more to be observed, wherein all the popular Impeachments in *Greece* and *Rome*, seem to have agreed; and that was, a Notion they had of being concerned in *Point of Honour* to condemn whatever Person they impeached, however frivolous the Articles were upon which they began, or however weak the Surmises whereon they were to proceed in their Proofs. For, to conceive, that the Body of the People could be mistaken, was an Indignity not to be imagined, till the Consequences had convinced them, when it was past Remedy. And I look upon this as a Fate to which all popular Accusations are subject; though I should

[u] Lib. Memorab. [x] Lib. 11.

think that the ſaying, *Vox Populi Vox Dei*, ought to be underſtood of the univerſal Bent and Current of a People, not of the *bare Majority* of a few Repreſentatives; which is often procured by *little Arts*, and great Induſtry and Application, wherein thoſe who engage in the Purſuits of Malice and Revenge, are much more ſedulous than ſuch as would prevent them.

FROM what has been deduced of the *Diſſentions in Rome*, between the two Bodies of Patricians and Plebeians, ſeveral Reflections may be made.

Firſt, THAT when the Balance of Power is duly fixed in a State, nothing is more dangerous or unwiſe than to give Way to the *firſt Steps* of popular Encroachments; which is uſually done either in Hopes of procuring Eaſe and Quiet from ſome vexatious Clamour, or elſe *made Merchandize, and merely bought and ſold.* This is breaking into a Conſtitution to ſerve a preſent Expedient, or ſupply a preſent Exigency: The Remedy of an Empirick, to ſtifle the preſent Pain, but with certain Proſpect of ſudden and terrible Returns. When a Child grows eaſy and content by being humoured; and when a Lover becomes ſatisfied by ſmall Compliances, without further Purſuits; then expect to find popular Aſſemblies content with ſmall Conceſſions. If there could one ſingle Example be brought from the whole Compaſs of Hiſtory, of any one popular Aſſembly, who, after beginning

ning to contend for Power, ever ſat down quietly with a certain Share: Or if one Inſtance could be produced of a popular Aſſembly, that ever knew, or propoſed, or declared what Share of Power was their Due; then might there be ſome Hopes, that it were a Matter to be adjuſted, by Reaſonings, by Conferences, or Debates: But ſince all that is manifeſtly otherwiſe, I ſee no Courſe to be taken in a ſettled State, but a ſteddy conſtant Reſolution in thoſe to whom the reſt of the Balance is entruſted, never to give Way ſo far to popular Clamours, as to make the leaſt Breach in the Conſtitution, through which a Million of Abuſes and Encroachments will certainly in Time force their Way.

AGAIN, from this Deduction, it will not be difficult to gather and aſſign certain Marks of popular Encroachments; by obſerving of which, thoſe, who hold the Balance in a State, may judge of the Degrees, and, by early Remedies and Application, put a Stop to the fatal Conſequences that would otherwiſe enſue. What thoſe Marks are, has been at large deduced, and need not be here repeated.

ANOTHER Conſequence is this: That (with all Reſpect for popular Aſſemblies be it ſpoke) it is hard to recollect one Folly, Infirmity, or Vice, to which a ſingle Man is ſubjected, and from which a Body of Commons, either collective or repreſented, can be wholly

exempt. For, beſides that they are compoſed of Men with all their Infirmities about them, they have alſo the ill Fortune to be generally led and influenced by the very Worſt among themſelves, I mean, *Popular Orators*, *Tribunes*, or, as they are now ſtyled, *Great Speakers*, *Leading Men*, and the like. From whence it comes to paſs, that in their Reſults we have ſometimes found the ſame Spirit of Cruelty and Revenge, of Malice and Pride; the ſame Blindneſs, and Obſtinacy, and Unſteadineſs; the ſame ungovernable Rage and Anger; the ſame Injuſtice, Sophiſtry, and Fraud, that ever lodged in the Breaſt of any Individual.

AGAIN, in all free States the Evil to be avoided is *Tyranny*, that is to ſay, the *Summa Imperii*, or unlimited Power ſolely in the Hands of the *One*, the *Few*, or the *Many*. Now, we have ſhewn, that although moſt Revolutions of Government in *Greece* and *Rome* began with the Tyranny of the People, yet they generally concluded in that of a ſingle Perſon; ſo that an uſurping Populace is its own *Dupe*; a meer Underworker, and a Purchaſer in Truſt for ſome ſingle Tyrant, whoſe State and Power they advance to their own Ruin, with as blind an Inſtinct, as thoſe Worms that die with weaving magnificent Habits for Beings of a ſuperior Nature to their own.

CHAP. V.

SOME Reflections upon the late publick Proceedings among us, and that Variety of Factions into which we are ſtill ſo intricately engaged, gave Occaſion to this Diſcourſe. I am not conſcious that I have forced one Example, or put it into any other Light than it appeared to me, long before I had Thoughts of producing it.

I CANNOT conclude without adding ſome particular Remarks upon the preſent Poſture of Affairs and Diſpoſitions in this Kingdom.

THE Fate of Empires is grown a Common-Place: That all Forms of Government having been inſtituted by Men, muſt be mortal like their Authors, and have their Periods of Duration limited as well as thoſe of private Perſons. This is a Truth of vulgar Knowledge and Obſervation: But there are few who turn their Thoughts to examine how thoſe Diſeaſes in a State are bred, that haſten its End; which would however be a very uſeful Enquiry. For though we cannot prolong the Period of a Commonwealth beyond the Decree of Heaven, or the Date of its Nature, any more than human

Life beyond the Strength of the ſeminal Virtue; yet, we may manage a ſickly Conſtitution, and preſerve a ſtrong One; we may watch and prevent Accidents; we may turn off a great Blow from without, and purge away an ill Humour that is lurking within: And by theſe, and other ſuch Methods, render a State long-lived, though not immortal. Yet ſome Phyſicians have thought, that if it were practicable to keep the ſeveral Humours of the Body in an exact equal Balance of each with its oppoſite, it might be immortal; and ſo perhaps would a political Body, if the Balance of Power could be always held exactly even. But, I doubt, this is as impoſſible in the Practice as the other.

It has an Appearance of Fatality, and that the Period of a State approaches, when a Concurrence of many Circumſtances, both within and without, unite toward its Ruin: While the whole Body of the People are either ſtupidly negligent, or elſe giving in with all their Might, to thoſe very Practices that are working their Deſtruction. To ſee whole Bodies of Men breaking a Conſtitution by the very ſame Errors that ſo many have been broke before: To obſerve oppoſite Parties, who can agree in nothing elſe, yet firmly united in ſuch Meaſures, as muſt certainly ruin their Country: In ſhort, to be encompaſs'd with the greateſt Dangers from without, to be torn by many virulent Factions within; then to be ſecure and ſenſeleſs under all this, and to make it the very leaſt

leaſt of our Concern; theſe, and ſome others that might be named, appear to me to be the moſt likely Symptoms in a State, of a *Sickneſs unto Death.*

Quod procul a nobis flectat Fortuna gubernans:
Et ratio potius, quam res perſuadeat ipſa.
LUCRET.

THERE are ſome Conjectures wherein the Death or Diſſolution of Government is more lamentable in its Conſequences, than it would be in others. And, I think, a State can never arrive to its Period in a more deplorable *Criſis*, than at a Time when ſome *Prince in the Neighbourhood*, of vaſt Power and Ambition, lies hovering like a Vulture to devour, or at leaſt, diſmember its dying Carcaſs; by which Means it becomes only a Province or Acquiſition to ſome mighty Monarchy, without Hopes of a Reſurrection.

I KNOW very well, there is a Sett of ſanguine Tempers, who deride and ridicule, in the Number of Fopperies, all ſuch Apprehenſions as theſe. They have it ready in their Mouths, that the People of *England* are of a Genius and Temper, never to admit Slavery among them; and they are furniſhed with a great many Common-places upon that Subject. But it ſeems to me, that ſuch Diſcourſers do reaſon upon ſhort Views, and a very moderate Compaſs of Thought. For, I think it a great Error to

count upon the Genius of a Nation as a ſtanding Argument in all Ages, ſince there is hardly a Spot of Ground in *Europe*, where the Inhabitants have not frequently and entirely changed their Temper and Genius. Neither can I ſee any Reaſon why the Genius of a Nation ſhould be more fixed in the Point of Government, than in their Morals, their Learning, their Religion, their common Humour and Converſation, their Diet, and their Complection; which do all notoriouſly vary almoſt in every Age, and may every one of them have great Effects upon Mens Notions of Government.

SINCE the *Norman* Conqueſt, the Balance of Power in *England* has often varied, and ſometimes been wholly overturned; the Part which the Commons had in it, *that moſt diſputed Point in its Original, Progreſs, and Extent*, was, by their own Confeſſions, but a very inconſiderable Share. Generally ſpeaking, they have been gaining ever ſince, tho' with frequent Interruptions, and ſlow Progreſs. The aboliſhing of *Villanage*, together with the Cuſtom introduced (or permitted) among the Nobles of ſelling their Lands in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, was a mighty Addition to the Power of the Commons, yet I think a much greater happened in the Time of his Succeſſor, at the Diſſolution of the Abbeys. For this turned the *Clergy* wholly out of the Scale, who had ſo long filled it; and placed the *Commons* in their ſtead; who in a few Years became poſſeſſed of vaſt

vaſt Quantities of thoſe and other Lands, by Grant or Purchaſe. About the middle of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, I take the Power between the Nobles and the Commons to have been in more equal Balance, than it was ever before or ſince. But then, or ſoon after, aroſe a Faction in *England*, which under the Name of *Puritan*, began to grow popular, by molding up their new Schemes of Religion with republican Principles in Government; and gaining upon the *Prerogative*, as well as the *Nobles*, under ſeveral Denominations, for the ſpace of about ſixty Years, did at laſt overthrow the Conſtitution, and according to the uſual courſe of ſuch Revolutions, did introduce a Tyranny, firſt of the People, and then of a ſingle Perſon.

IN a ſhort Time after, the old Government was revived. But the Progreſs of Affairs for almoſt thirty Years, under the Reigns of two weak Princes, is a Subject of a very different Nature: When the Balance was in Danger to be overturned by the Hands that held it, which was at laſt very ſeaſonably prevented by the late Revolution. However, as it is the Talent of human Nature to run from one Extreme to another, ſo, in a very few Years, we have made mighty Leaps from Prerogative Heights into the Depths of Popularity, and, I doubt, to the very laſt Degree that our Conſtitution will bear. It were to be wiſh'd that the moſt auguſt Aſſembly of the Commons would pleaſe to form a *Pandect* of their own Power and Pri-

vileges, to be confirmed by the entire legiſlative Authority, and that in as ſolemn a Manner (if they pleaſe) as the *Magna Charta*. But to fix one Foot of their Compaſs wherever they think fit, and extend the other to ſuch terrible Lengths, without deſcribing any Circumference at all, is to leave us and themſelves in a very uncertain State, and in a ſort of *Rotation*, that the Author of the *Oceana* never dream'd on. I believe the moſt hardy Tribune will not venture to affirm, at preſent, that any juſt Fears of Encroachment are given us from the regal Power, or the *Few:* And, is it then impoſſible to err on the other Side? How far muſt we proceed, or where ſhall we ſtop? *The raging of the Sea*, and *the Madneſs of the People* are put together in Holy Writ; and 'tis God alone who can ſay to either, *Hitherto ſhalt thou paſs, and no farther.*

THE Balance of Power in a limited State is of ſuch abſolute Neceſſity, that *Cromwell* himſelf, before he had perfectly confirmed his Tyranny, having ſome Occaſions for the Appearance of a Parliament, was forced to create and erect an entire new Houſe of Lords (ſuch as it was) for a Counterpoiſe to the Commons. And indeed, conſidering the Vileneſs of the Clay, I have ſometimes wonder'd, that no Tribune of that Age durſt ever venture to aſk the *Potter*, *What doſt thou make?* But it was then about the laſt Act of a popular Uſurpation, and *Fate*

or

or *Cromwell* had already prepared them for that of a ſingle Perſon.

I HAVE been often amazed at the rude, paſſionate, and miſtaken Reſults, which have at certain Times fallen from great Aſſemblies, both antient and modern, and of other Countries as well as our own. This gave me the Opinion I mentioned a while ago, That publick Conventions are liable to all the Infirmities, Follies, and Vices of private Men. To which, if there be any Exception, it muſt be of ſuch Aſſemblies who act by *univerſal Concert*, *upon publick Principles*, *and for publick Ends*; ſuch as proceed upon Debates without *unbecoming Warmths*, or *Influence from particular Leaders and Inflamers*, ſuch whoſe Members inſtead *of canvaſſing to procure Majorities for their private Opinions*, *are ready to comply with general ſober Reſults*, *tho' contrary to their own Sentiments*. Whatever Aſſemblies act by theſe and other Methods of the like Nature, muſt be allowed to be exempt from ſeveral Imperfections to which particular Men are ſubjected. But I think the Source of moſt Miſtakes and Miſcarriages, in Matters debated by publick Aſſemblies, ariſes from the Influence of private Perſons upon great Numbers, ſtyled in common Phraſe, *Leading Men and Parties*. And therefore when we ſometimes meet a *few Words* put together, which is called the *Vote* or *Reſolution* of an Aſſembly, and which we cannot poſſibly reconcile to *Prudence* or *publick Good*, it is moſt

charitable to conjecture, that ſuch a Vote has been conceived, and born, and bred in a private Brain, afterwards raiſed and ſupported by an obſequious Party, and then with uſual Methods confirmed by an *artificial* Majority. For, let us ſuppoſe five hundred Men, mix'd in Point of Senſe and Honeſty, as uſually Aſſemblies are; and let us ſuppoſe theſe Men propoſing, debating, reſolving, voting, according to the meer natural Motions of their own little or much Reaſon and Underſtanding; I do allow, that abundance of indigeſted and abortive, many pernicious and fooliſh Overtures would ariſe and float a few Minutes; but then they would die and diſappear. Becauſe, this muſt be ſaid in Behalf of Humankind, that common Senſe and plain Reaſon, while Men are diſengaged from acquired Opinions, will ever have ſome general Influence upon their Minds; whereas the Species of Folly and Vice are infinite, and ſo different in every Individual, that they could never procure a Majority, if other Corruptions did not enter to pervert Mens Underſtandings, and miſguide their Wills.

To deſcribe how Parties are bred in an Aſſembly, would be a Work too difficult at preſent, and perhaps not altogether ſafe. *Periculoſæ plenum opus aleæ.* Whether thoſe who are Lea ers, uſually arrive at that Station more by a ſort of Inſtinct or ſecret Compoſition of the Nature or Influence of the Stars, than by the Poſſeſſion of any great Abilities, may be a Point of much Diſpute; But when the Leader is once

once fixed, there will never fail to be Followers. And Man is ſo apt to *imitate* ſo much of the Nature of *Sheep*, (*Imitatores, ſervum Pecus*) that whoever is ſo bold to give the firſt *great Leap over the Heads of thoſe about him*, (tho' he be the worſt of the Flock) ſhall be quickly followed by the reſt. Beſides, when Parties are once formed, the Stragglers look ſo ridiculous, and become ſo inſignificant, that they have no other Way, but to run into the Herd, which at leaſt will hide and protect them; and where to be much conſidered, requires only to be very violent.

BUT there is one Circumſtance, with Relation to Parties, which I take to be of all others moſt pernicious in a State; and I would be glad any Partizan would help me to a tolerable Reaſon, that becauſe *Clodius* and *Curio* happen to agree with me in a few ſingular Notions, I muſt therefore blindly follow them in all: Or, to ſtate it at beſt, that becauſe *Bibulus* the *Party-man* is perſuaded that *Clodius* and *Curio* do really propoſe the Good of their Countrey as their chief End; therefore *Bibulus* ſhall be wholly guided and governed by them, in the Means and Meaſures towards it. Is it enough for *Bibulus*, and the reſt of the Herd, to ſay, without further examining, *I am of the ſide with* Clodius, *or I vote with* Curio? Are theſe proper Methods to form and make up what they think fit to call the *united Wiſdom of the Nation?* Is it not poſſible, that upon ſome Occaſions

Clodius

Clodius may be bold and inſolent, born away by his Paſſion, malicious and revengeful? That *Curio* may be corrupt, and expoſe to Sale his Tongue, or his Pen? I conceive it far below the Dignity both of human Nature, and human Reaſon, to be engaged in any Party, the moſt plauſible ſoever, upon ſuch ſervile Conditions.

THIS Influence of *One* upon *Many*, which ſeems to be as great in a People *Repreſented*, as it was of old in the Commons *Collective*, together with the Conſequences it has had upon the Legiſlature, has given me frequent Occaſion to reflect upon what *Diodorus* tells us of one *Charondas*, a Lawgiver to the *Sybarites*, an ancient People of *Italy*, who was ſo averſe to all Innovation, eſpecially when it was to proceed from particular Perſons; and I ſuppoſe, that he might put it out of the Power of Men, fond of their own Notions, to diſturb the Conſtitution at their Pleaſures, by advancing private Schemes; that he provided a Statute, that whoever propoſed any Alteration to be made, would ſtep out and do it with a Rope about his Neck: If the Matter propoſed were generally approved, then it ſhould paſs into a Law; if it went in the Negative, the Propoſer to be immediately *hanged*. Great Miniſters may talk of what Projects they pleaſe; but I am deceived, if a more effectual one could ever be found for *taking off* (as the preſent Phraſe is) thoſe hot, unquiet Spirits, who diſturb Aſſemblies, and obſtruct publick

lick Affairs, by gratifying their Pride, their Malice, their Ambition, or their Avarice.

THOSE who in a late Reign began the Diſtinction between the *perſonal* and *politick* Capacity, ſeem to have had Reaſon, if they judged of Princes by themſelves; for, I think, there is hard to be found through all Nature, a greater Difference between two Things, than there is between a repreſenting Commoner, in the Function of his publick Calling, and the ſame Perſon, when he acts in the common Offices of Life. Here, he allows himſelf to be upon a Level with the reſt of Mortals: Here, he follows his own Reaſon, and his own Way; and rather affects a Singularity in his Actions and Thoughts, than ſervilely to copy either from the wiſeſt of his Neighbours. In ſhort, here his Folly, and his Wiſdom, his Reaſon and his Paſſions, are all of his own Growth, not the Echo or Infuſion of other Men. But when he is got near the Walls of his Aſſembly, he aſſumes and affects an entire Sett of very different Airs; he conceives himſelf a Being of a ſuperior Nature to thoſe *without*, and acting in a Sphere where the vulgar Methods for the Conduct of human Life can be of no Uſe. He is liſted in a Party where he neither knows the Temper, nor Deſigns, nor perhaps the Perſon of his Leader; but whoſe Opinions he follows and maintains with a Zeal and Faith as violent, as a young Scholar does thoſe of a Philoſopher, whoſe Sect he is taught to profeſs. He has neither Opi-

nions, nor Thoughts, nor Actions, nor Talk, that he can call his own, but all conveyed to him by his Leader, as Wind is through an Organ. The Nouriſhment he receives has been not only *chewed*, but *digeſted* before it comes into his Mouth. Thus inſtructed, he follows the *Party*, right or wrong, through all its Sentiments, and acquires a Courage and Stiffneſs of Opinion not at all congenial with him.

THIS encourages me to hope, that during this lucid Interval, the Members retired to their Homes, may ſuſpend a while their *acquired Complexions*, and taught by the Calmneſs of the Scene and the Seaſon, reaſſume the native Sedateneſs of their Temper. If this ſhould be ſo, it would be wiſe in them, as individual and private Mortals, to look back a little upon the Storms they have *raiſed*, as well as thoſe they have *eſcaped*. To reflect, that they have been Authors of a new and wonderful Thing in *England*, which is, for a Houſe of Commons to loſe the univerſal Favour of the Numbers they repreſent: To obſerve, how thoſe whom they thought fit to perſecute for Righteouſneſs ſake, have been openly careſs'd by the People; and to remember how themſelves ſate in Fear of their Perſons from popular Rage. Now, if they would know the Secret of all this unprecedented Proceeding in their *Maſters*, they muſt not impute it to their Freedom in Debate, or declaring their Opinions, but to that unparliamentary Abuſe of ſetting Individuals upon their Shoulders, who

who were hated by God and Man. For, it ſeems, the Maſs of the People, in ſuch Conjunctures as this, have opened their Eyes, and will not endure to be governed by *Clodius* and *Curio* at the Head of their *Myrmidons*, though theſe be ever ſo numerous, and compoſed of their own Repreſentatives.

THIS Averſion of the People for the late Proceedings of the Commons, is an accident, that, if it laſt a while, might be improved to good Uſes for ſetting the Balance of Power a little more upon an Equality, than their late Meaſures ſeem to promiſe or admit. This Accident may be imputed to two Cauſes: The firſt is an univerſal Fear and Apprehenſion of the Greatneſs and Power of *France*, whereof the People in general ſeem to be very much and juſtly poſſeſs'd, and therefore cannot but reſent to ſee it, in ſo critical a Juncture, wholly laid aſide by their *Miniſters*, the Commons. The other Cauſe, is a great Love and Senſe of Gratitude in the People towards their preſent *King*, grounded upon a long Opinion and Experience of his Merit, as well as Conceſſions to all their reaſonable Deſires; ſo that it is for ſome time they have begun to ſay, and to fetch Inſtances where he has in many Things been hardly uſed. How long theſe Humours may laſt, (for Paſſions are momentary, and eſpecially thoſe of a Multitude) or what Conſequences they may produce, a little Time may diſcover. But whenever it comes to paſs, that a popular Aſſembly, free

free from ſuch Obſtructions, and already poſſeſſed of more Power, than an equal Balance will allow, ſhall continue to think they have not enough, but by cramping the Hand that holds the Balance, and by *Impeachments* or *Diſſentions* with the Nobles, endeavour ſtill for more; I cannot poſſibly ſee, in the common Courſe of Things, how the ſame Cauſes can produce different Effects and Conſequences among us, from what they did in *Greece* and *Rome*.

THE

THE SENTIMENTS OF A *Church-of-England Man,* With Reſpect to RELIGION and GOVERNMENT.

Written in the Year 1708.

WHOEVER has examined the Conduct and Proceedings of both *Parties* for ſome Years paſt, whether in or out of Power, cannot well conceive it poſſible to go far towards the Extremes of either, without offering ſome Violence to his Integrity or Underſtanding. A wiſe and a good Man may indeed be ſometimes induced to comply with a Number whoſe Opinion he

he generally approves, though it be perhaps againſt his own. But this Liberty ſhould be made uſe of upon very few Occaſions, and thoſe of ſmall Importance, and then only with a View of bringing over his own Side another time to ſomething of greater and more publick Moment. But to ſacrifice the Innocency of a Friend, the Good of our Countrey, or our own Conſcience, to the Humour, or Paſſion, or Intereſt of a Party, plainly ſhews, that either our Heads or our Hearts are not as they ſhould be: Yet this very Practice is the fundamental Law of each Faction among us, as may be obvious to any who will impartially, and without Engagement, be at the Pains to examine their Actions, which, however, is not ſo eaſy a Taſk: For it ſeems a Principle in human Nature, to incline one way more than another, even in Matters where we are wholly unconcerned. And it is a common Obſervation, that in reading a Hiſtory of Facts done a thouſand Years ago, or ſtanding by at Play among thoſe who are perfect Strangers to us, we are apt to find our Hopes and Wiſhes engaged on a ſudden in favour of one ſide more than another. No wonder then we are all ſo ready to intereſt our ſelves in the Courſe of publick Affairs, where the moſt inconſiderable have ſome *real* Share, and by the wonderful Importance which every Man is of to himſelf, a very great *imaginary* one.

And indeed, when the two Parties, that divide the whole Commonwealth, come once to

to a Rupture, without any Hopes left of forming a Third with better Principles, to balance the others, it ſeems every Man's Duty to chuſe a Side, though he cannot entirely approve of either, and all Pretences to Neutrality are juſtly exploded by both, being too ſtale and obvious, only intending the Safety and Eaſe of a few Individuals while the Publick is embroiled. This was the Opinion and Practice of the latter *Cato*, whom I eſteem to have been the wiſeſt and beſt of all the *Romans*. But before Things proceed to open Violence, the trueſt Service a private Man may hope to do in his Countrey, is by unbiaſſing his Mind as much as poſſible, and then endeavouring to moderate between the rival Powers, which muſt needs be owned a fair Proceeding with the World, becauſe it is of all others the leaſt conſiſtent with the common Deſign, of making a Fortune by the *Merit* of an *Opinion*.

I HAVE gone as far as I am able in qualifying my ſelf to be ſuch a Moderator; I believe I am no *Bigot* in Religion, and I am ſure I am none in Government. I converſe in full Freedom with many conſiderable Men of both Parties; and if not in equal Number, it is purely accidental and perſonal, as happening to be near the Court, and to have made Acquaintaince there, more under one Miniſtry than another. Then, I am not under the Neceſſity of declaring my ſelf by the Proſpect of an Employment. And laſtly, if all this be not ſufficient, I induſtriouſly conceal

conceal my Name, which wholly exempts me from any Hopes and Fears in delivering my Opinion.

In Conſequence of this free Uſe of my Reaſon, I cannot poſſibly think ſo well or ſo ill of either Party, as they would endeavour to perſuade the World of each other, and of themſelves. For Inſtance; I do not charge it upon the Body of the *Whigs*, or the *Tories*, that their ſeveral Principles lead them to introduce Preſbytery, and the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, or a Commonwealth, and Arbitrary Power. For why ſhould any Party be accuſed of a Principle which they ſolemnly diſown and proteſt againſt? But, to this they have a mutual Anſwer ready; they both aſſure us, that their Adverſaries are not to be believed; that they diſown their Principles out of Fear; which are manifeſt enough, when we examine their Practices. To prove this, they will produce Inſtances, on one Side, either of avowed Preſbyterians, or Perſons of Libertine and Atheiſtical Tenets; and on the other, of profeſſed Papiſts, or ſuch as are openly in the Intereſt of the abdicated Family. Now it is very natural for all ſubordinate Sects and Denominations in a State, to ſide with ſome general Party, and to chuſe that which they find to agree with themſelves in ſome general Principle. Thus, at the *Reſtoration*, the Preſbyterians, Anabaptiſts, Independents, and other Sects, did all, with very good Reaſon, unite and ſodder up their ſeveral Schemes to join againſt the *Church*,

Church, who, without regard to their Diſtinctions, treated them all as equal Adverſaries. Thus, our preſent Diſſenters do very naturally cloſe in with the Whigs, who profeſs *Moderation*, declare they abhor all Thoughts of *Perſecution*, and think it hard that thoſe who differ only in a few *Ceremonies* and *Speculations*, ſhould be denied the Privilege and Profit of ſerving their Countrey in the higheſt Employments of State. Thus, the Atheiſts, Libertines, Deſpiſers of Religion and Revelation in general, that is to ſay, all thoſe who uſually paſs under the Name of *Free-Thinkers*, do properly join with the ſame Body; becauſe *They* likewiſe preach up *Moderation*, and are not ſo over-nice to diſtinguiſh between an unlimited Liberty of Conſcience, and an unlimited Freedom of Opinion. Then on the other ſide, the profeſs'd Firmneſs of the *Tories* for Epiſcopacy, as an Apoſtolical Inſtitution: Their Averſion to thoſe Sects who lie under the Reproach of having once deſtroyed their Conſtitution, and who, they imagine, by too indiſcreet a Zeal for Reformation, have defaced the primitive Model of the Church: Next, their Veneration for monarchical Government in the common Courſe of Succeſſion, and their Hatred to Republican Schemes: Theſe, I ſay, are Principles which not only the Nonjuring Zealots profeſs, but even Papiſts themſelves fall readily in with. And every Extreme here mentioned, flings a general Scandal upon the whole Body it pretends to adhere to.

BUT ſurely no Man whatſoever ought in Juſtice or good Manners to be charged with Principles he actually diſowns, unleſs his Practices do openly, and without the leaſt Room for Doubt, contradict his Profeſſion: Not upon ſmall Surmiſes, or becauſe he has the Misfortune to have ill Men ſometimes agree with him in a few general Sentiments. However, though the Extremes of *Whig* and *Tory* ſeem, with little Juſtice, to have drawn Religion into their Controverſies, wherein they have ſmall Concern, yet they both have borrowed one leading Principle from the Abuſe of it, which is, to have built their ſeveral Syſtems of political Faith, not upon Enquiries after Truth, but upon Oppoſition to each other, upon injurious Appellations, charging their Adverſaries with horrid Opinions, and then reproaching them for the Want of Charity; *Et neuter falſo.*

IN order to remove theſe Prejudices, I have thought nothing could be more effectual than to deſcribe the Sentiments of a *Church-of-England Man*, with reſpect to *Religion* and *Government*. This I ſhall endeavour to do in ſuch a *Manner*, as may not be liable to the leaſt Objection from either Party, and which I am confident would be aſſented to by great Numbers in both, if they were not miſled to thoſe mutual Miſrepreſentations, by ſuch Motives as they would be aſhamed to own.

I SHALL

I SHALL begin with *Religion.*

AND here, though it makes an odd Sound, yet it is neceſſary to ſay, that whoever profeſſeth himſelf a Member of the Church of *England*, ought to believe a God, and his Providence, together with revealed Religion, and the Divinity of *Chriſt*. For beſide thoſe many Thouſands, who (to ſpeak in the Phraſe of Divines) do practically deny all this by the Immorality of their Lives, there is no ſmall Number, who, in their Converſation and Writings, directly, or by Conſequence, endeavour to overthrow it: Yet all theſe place themſelves in the Liſt of the National Church, though at the ſame time (as it is highly reaſonable) they are great Sticklers for Liberty of Conſcience.

To enter upon Particulars: A *Church-of-England* Man has a true Veneration for the Scheme eſtabliſhed among us of Eccleſiaſtick Government; and though he will not determine whether Epiſcopacy be of Divine Right, he is ſure it is moſt agreeable to primitive Inſtitution, fitteſt, of all others, for preſerving Order and Purity, and under its preſent Regulations beſt calculated for our civil ſtate: He ſhould therefore think the Aboliſhment of that Order among us would prove a mighty Scandal and Corruption to our Faith, and manifeſtly dangerous to our Monarchy; nay, he would defend it by Arms againſt all the Powers on Earth, except our own

Legiſlature; in which Caſe he would ſubmit as to a general Calamity, a Dearth, or a Peſtilence.

As to Rites and Ceremonies, and Forms of Prayer, he allows there might be ſome uſeful Alterations, and more, which in the Proſpect of uniting Chriſtians might be very ſupportable, as Things declared in their own Nature indifferent; to which he therefore would readily comply, if the *Clergy*, or, (tho' this be not ſo fair a Method) if the *Legiſlature* ſhould direct: Yet at the ſame Time he cannot altogether blame the Former for their Unwillingneſs to conſent to any Alteration, which, beſide Trouble, and perhaps Diſgrace, would certainly never produce the good Effects intended by it. The only Condition that could make it prudent and juſt for the Clergy to comply in altering the Ceremonial, or any other indifferent Part, would be a firm Reſolution in the Legiſlature to interpoſe by ſome ſtrict and effectual Laws to prevent the riſing and ſpreading of new Sects, how plauſible ſoever, for the future; elſe they muſt never be at an End: And it would be to act like a Man who ſhould pull down and change the Ornaments of his houſe, in compliance to every one that was diſpoſed to find fault as he paſſed by; which beſides the perpetual Trouble and Expence, would very much damage, and perhaps in Time deſtroy the Building. Sects in a State ſeem only tolerated with any Reaſon, becauſe they are already ſpread; and

and becauſe it would not be agreeable with ſo mild a Government, or ſo pure a Religion as ours, to uſe violent Methods againſt great Numbers of *miſtaken* People, while they do not manifeſtly endanger the Conſtitution of either. But the greateſt Advocates for general Liberty of Conſcience, will allow they ought to be check'd in their Beginnings, if they will allow them to be an Evil at all, or, which is the ſame Thing, if they will only grant, it were better for the Peace of the State, that there ſhould be none. But while the Clergy conſider the natural Temper of Mankind in general, or of our own Countrey in particular, what Aſſurances can they have, that any Compliances they ſhall make, will remove the Evil of Diſſention, while the Liberty ſtill continues of profeſſing what new Opinions we pleaſe? Or how can it be imagined that the Body of Diſſenting Teachers, who muſt be all undone by ſuch a Revolution, will not caſt about for ſome new Objections to with-hold their Flocks, and draw in freſh Proſelytes by ſome further Innovations or Refinements?

UPON theſe Reaſons he is for tolerating ſuch different Forms in religious Worſhip as are already admitted, but by no means for leaving it in the Power of thoſe who are tolerated, to advance their own Models upon the Ruin of what is already eſtabliſhed, which it is natural for all Sects to deſire, and which they cannot juſtify by any conſiſtent Principles if they do not endeavour; and yet, which they cannot ſucceed in

without the utmoſt Danger to the publick Peace.

To prevent theſe Inconveniences, he thinks it highly juſt, that all Rewards of Truſt, Profit, or Dignity, which the State leaves in the Diſpoſal of the Adminiſtration, ſhould be given only to thoſe whoſe Principles direct them to preſerve the Conſtitution in all its Parts. In the late Affair of *Occaſional Conformity*, the general Argument of thoſe who were againſt it, was not, to deny it an Evil in it ſelf, but that the Remedy propoſed was violent, untimely, and improper, which is the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*'s Opinion in the Speech he made and publiſhed againſt the Bill: But however juſt their Fears or Complaints might have been upon that Score, he thinks it a little too groſs and precipitate to employ their Writers already in Arguments for repealing the Sacramental Teſt, upon no wiſer a Maxim, than that no Man ſhould, on the Account of Conſcience, be deprived the Liberty of ſerving his Countrey, a Topick which may be equally applied to admit *Papiſts*, *Atheiſts*, *Mahometans*, *Heathens*, and *Jews*. If the Church wants Members of its own to employ in the Service of the Publick, or be ſo unhappily contrived, as to exclude from its Communion, ſuch Perſons who are likelieſt to have great Abilities, it is Time it ſhould be altered and reduced into ſome more perfect, or at leaſt more popular Form: But in the mean while it is not altogether improbable, that when thoſe who diſlike the

the Conſtitution, are ſo very zealous in their Offers for the Service of their Countrey, they are not wholly unmindful of their Party or of themſelves.

THE *Dutch*, whoſe Practice is ſo often quoted to prove and celebrate the great Advantages of a general Liberty of Conſcience, have yet a National Religion profeſſed by all who bear Office among them: But why ſhould they be a Precedent for us either in Religion or Government? Our Countrey differs from theirs, as well in Situation, Soil, and Productions of Nature, as in the Genius and Complexion of Inhabitants. They are a Commonwealth founded on a ſudden, by a deſperate Attempt in a deſperate Condition, not formed or digeſted into a regular Syſtem by mature Thought and Reaſon, but huddled up under the Preſſure of ſudden Exigencies; calculated for no long Duration, and hitherto ſubſiſting by Accident in the midſt of contending Powers, who cannot yet agree about ſharing it amongſt them. Theſe Difficulties do indeed preſerve them from any great Corruptions, which their crazy Conſtitution would extremely ſubject them to in a long Peace. That Confluence of People in a perſecuting Age, to a Place of Refuge neareſt at hand, put them upon the Neceſſity of Trade, to which they wiſely gave all Eaſe and Encouragement: And if we could think fit to imitate them in this laſt Particular, there would need no more to invite Foreigners among us; who ſeem to think no

farther than how to ſecure their Property and Conſcience, without projecting any Share in that Government which gives them Protection, or calling it *Perſecution* if it be denied them. But I ſpeak it for the Honour of our Adminiſtration, that although our Sects are not ſo numerous as thoſe in *Holland*, which I preſume is not our *Fault*, and I hope is not our *Misfortune*, we much excel them and all *Chriſtendom* beſides in our Indulgence to tender Conſciences. One ſingle Compliance with the National Form of receiving the Sacrament, is all we require to qualify any Sectary among us for the greateſt Employments in the State, after which he is at Liberty to rejoin his own Aſſemblies for the reſt of his Life. Beſides, I will ſuppoſe any of the numerous Sects in *Holland*, to have ſo far prevailed as to have raiſed a civil War, deſtroyed their Government and Religion, and put their *Adminiſtrators* to Death; after which I will ſuppoſe the People to have recovered all again, and to have ſettled on their old Foundation. Then I would put a Query, whether that Sect which was the unhappy Inſtrument of all this Confuſion, could reaſonably expect to be entruſted for the future with the greateſt Employments, or indeed to be hardly tolerated among them?

To go on with the Sentiments of a *Church-of-England Man*: He does not ſee how that mighty Paſſion for the Church which ſome Men pretend, can well conſiſt with thoſe Indignities and that Contempt they beſtow on the Perſons

of

of the Clergy. 'Tis a ſtrange Mark whereby to diſtinguiſh *High-Church Men*, that they are ſuch who imagine the Clergy can never be too *Low*. He thinks the Maxim theſe Gentlemen are ſo fond of, that they are for an humble Clergy, is a very good One: And ſo is he; and for an humble Laity too, ſince Humility is a Virtue that perhaps equally befits and adorns every Station of Life.

But then if the Scriblers on the other Side freely ſpeak the Sentiments of their Party, a Divine of the Church of *England* cannot look for much better Quarter from thence. You ſhall obſerve Nothing more frequent in their weekly Papers, than a Way of affecting to confound the Terms of *Clergy* and *High-Church*, of applying both indifferently, and then loading the latter with all the Calumny they can invent. They will tell you they honour a Clergyman; but talk at the ſame Time, as if there were not three in the Kingdom who could fall in with their Definition. After the like manner they inſult the *Univerſities* as poiſoned Fountains, and Corrupters of Youth.

Now it ſeems clear to me that the *Whigs* might eaſily have procured and maintained a Majority among the Clergy, and perhaps in the Univerſities, if they had not too much encouraged or connived at this intemperance of Speech and Virulence of Pen, in the Worſt and moſt Proſtitute of their Party; among whom there

hath been, for ſome Years paſt, ſuch a perpetual Clamour againſt the Ambition, the implacable Temper, and the Covetouſneſs of the *Prieſt-hood:* Such a Cant of *High-Church*, and Perſecution and being *Prieſt-ridden*; ſo many Reproaches about *narrow Principles*, or *Terms of Communion:* Then ſuch ſcandalous Reflections on the *Univerſities*, for infecting the Youth of the Nation with Arbitrary and *Jacobite* Principles, that it was natural for thoſe who had the care of Religion and Education, to apprehend ſome general Deſign of altering the Conſtitution of both. And all this was the more extraordinary, becauſe it could not eaſily be forgot, that whatever Oppoſition was made to the Uſurpations of *King James*, proceeded altogether from the Church of *England*, and chiefly from the *Clergy*, and one of the *Univerſities*. For, if it were of any uſe to recal Matters of Fact, what is more notorious than the Prince's applying himſelf firſt to the Church of *England*; and upon their Refuſal to fall in with his Meaſures, making the like Advances to the *Diſſenters* of all kinds, who readily and almoſt univerſally complied with him, affecting in their numerous Addreſſes and Pamphlets, the Style of *Our Brethren the Roman Catholicks*, whoſe Intereſts they put on the ſame Foot with their own? And ſome of *Cromwel*'s Officers took Poſts in the Army raiſed againſt the Prince of *Orange*. Theſe Proceedings of theirs they can only extenuate, by urging the Provocations they had met from the Church in King *Charles*'s Reign, which though perhaps excu-

excuſable upon the Score of Human Infirmity, are not by any means a Plea of Merit equal to the Conſtancy and Sufferings of the Biſhops and Clergy, or of the Head and Fellows of *Magdalen College*, that furniſhed the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration with ſuch powerful Arguments to juſtify and promote the *Revolution*.

THEREFORE a *Church-of-England Man* abhors the Humour of the Age in delighting to fling Scandals upon the Clergy in general; which beſides the Diſgrace to the *Reformation*, and to Religion it ſelf, caſts an Ignominy upon the Kingdom that it doth not deſerve. We have no better Materials to compound the Prieſthood of, than the Maſs of Mankind, which corrupted as it is, thoſe who receive Orders muſt have ſome Vices to leave behind them when they enter into the Church, and if a few do ſtill adhere, it is no Wonder, but rather a great One that they are no worſe. Therefore he cannot think *Ambition*, or *Love of Power*, more juſtly laid to their Charge than to other Men, becauſe that would be to make Religion it ſelf, or at leaſt the beſt Conſtitution of *Church Government* anſwerable for the Errors and Depravity of Human Nature.

WITHIN theſe laſt Two hundred Years, all ſorts of Temporal Power hath been wreſted from the Clergy, and much of their Eccleſiaſtick, the Reaſon or Juſtice of which Proceeding I ſhall not examine; but that the Remedies were a

little too violent, with respect to their *Possessions*, the Legislature hath lately confessed by the Remission of their *First Fruits*. Neither do the common Libellers deny this, who in their Invectives only tax the Church with an insatiable Desire of Power and Wealth, (equally common to all Bodies of Men, as well as Individuals) but thank God, that the Laws have deprived them of both. However, it is worth observing the Justice of Parties; the Sects among us are apt to complain, and think it hard Usage to be reproached now after fifty Years, for overturning the State, for the Murder of a King, and the Indignity of an Usurpation; yet these very Men, and their Partisans, are continually reproaching the Clergy, and laying to their charge the Pride, the Avarice, the Luxury, the Ignorance, and Superstition of *Popish* Times for a thousand Years past.

He thinks it a Scandal to Government, that such an unlimited Liberty should be allowed of publishing Books against those Doctrines in Religion, wherein all Christians have agreed, much more to connive at such Tracts as reject all Revelation, and by their Consequences often deny the very Being of a God. Surely 'tis not a sufficient Attonement for the Writers, that they profess much Loyalty to the present Government, and sprinkle up and down some Arguments in Favour of the *Dissenters*; that they dispute, as strenuously as they can, for Liberty of Conscience, and inveigh largely against all

all Eccleſiaſticks under the Name of *High-Church*; and, in ſhort, under the Shelter of ſome popular Principles in Politicks and Religion, undermine the Foundations of all Piety and Virtue.

As he does not reckon every *Schiſm* of that damnable Nature which ſome would repreſent, ſo he is very far from cloſing with the new Opinion of thoſe who would make it no Crime at all; and argue at a wild rate, that God Almighty is delighted with the Variety of Faith and Worſhip, as he is with the Varieties of Nature. To ſuch Abſurdities are Men carried by the Affectation of *Free Thinking*, and *removing the Prejudices of Education*, under which Head they have for ſome Time begun to liſt *Morality* and *Religion*. It is certain that before the Rebellion in 1642, tho' the Number of *Puritans* (as they were then called) were as great as it is with us, and tho' they affected to follow Paſtors of that Denomination, yet thoſe Paſtors had Epiſcopal Ordination, poſſeſſed Preferments in the Church, and were ſometimes promoted to Biſhopricks themſelves. But a Breach in the general Form of Worſhip was, in thoſe days, reckoned ſo dangerous and ſinful in it ſelf, and ſo offenſive to *Roman Catholicks* at home and abroad, that it was too unpopular to be attempted; neither, I believe, was the Expedient then found out of maintaining ſeparate Paſtors out of private Purſes.

When a *Schiſm* is once ſpread in a Nation, there grows at length a Diſpute which are the

Schiſmaticks. Without entering on the Arguments uſed by both Sides among us, to fix the Guilt on each other, 'tis certain, that in the Senſe of the Law, the *Schiſm* lies on that Side which oppoſes itſelf to the Religion of the State. I ſhall leave it among the *Divines* to dilate upon the Danger of *Schiſm* as a ſpiritual Evil; but I would conſider it only as a Temporal one. And I think it clear that any great Separation from the eſtabliſhed Worſhip, though to a new One that is more pure and perfect, may be an occaſion of endangering the publick Peace, becauſe it will compoſe a Body always in Reſerve, prepared to follow any diſcontented Heads, upon the plauſible Pretexts of advancing *true Religion* and oppoſing Error, Superſtition, or Idolatry. For this Reaſon *Plato* lays it down as a Maxim, that *Men ought to worſhip the Gods according to the Laws of the Countrey*; and he introduces *Socrates*, in his laſt Diſcourſe, utterly diſowning the Crime laid to his Charge, of *teaching new Divinities* or Methods of Worſhip. Thus the poor *Hugonots* of *France* were engaged in a Civil War, by the ſpecious Pretences of ſome, who under the Guiſe of Religion, ſacrificed ſo many thouſand Lives to their own Ambition and Religion. Thus was the whole Body of *Puritans* in *England* drawn to be inſtrumental, or Abettors of all manner of Villany, by the Artifices of a *few Men*, whoſe [y] Deſigns from the firſt, were levelled to deſtroy the Conſtitution both of Re-

[y] *Lord* Clarendon's *Hiſtory*.

ligion

ligion and Government. And thus even in *Holland* it ſelf, where it is pretended that the Variety of Sects live ſo amicably together, and in ſuch perfect Obedience to the Magiſtrate, 'tis notorious how a turbulent Party joining with the *Arminians*, did in the Memory of our Fathers, attempt to deſtroy the Liberty of that Republick. So that upon the Whole, where *Sects* are tolerated in a State, 'tis fit they ſhould enjoy a full Liberty of Conſcience, and every other Privilege of free-born Subjects *to which no Power is annexed.* And to preſerve their Obedience upon all Emergencies, a Government cannot give them too much Eaſe, nor truſt them with too little *Power.*

THE *Clergy* are uſually charged with a *Perſecuting Spirit*, which they are ſaid to diſcover by their implacable Hatred to all *Diſſenters*; and this appears to be more unreaſonable, becauſe they ſuffer leſs in their Intereſts by a *Toleration*, than any of the *Conforming Laity:* For while the *Church* remains in its preſent Form, no Diſſenter can poſſibly have any Share in its Dignities, Revenues, or Power; whereas, by once receiving the Sacrament, he is render'd capable of the higheſt Employments in the State. And it is very poſſible, that a narrow Education, together with a Mixture of Human Infirmity, may help to beget among ſome of the *Clergy in Poſſeſſion* ſuch an Averſion and Contempt for all *Innovators*, as *Phyſicians* are apt to have for *Empiricks*, or *Lawyers* for *Petti-foggers*, or *Merchants*

for *Pedlars*; but ſince the Number of Sectaries does not concern the Clergy either in Point of Intereſt or Conſcience, (it being an Evil not in their Power to remedy) 'tis more fair and reaſonable to ſuppoſe their Diſlike proceeds from the Dangers they apprehend to the Peace of the Commonwealth, in the Ruin whereof they muſt expect to be the firſt and greateſt Sufferers.

To conclude this *Section*, it muſt be obſerved, there is a very good Word, which hath of late ſuffered much by both Parties, and that is *Moderation*, which the one Side very juſtly diſowns, and the other as unjuſtly pretends to. Beſide what paſſes every Day in Converſation, any Man who reads the Papers publiſhed by Mr. *L----y*, and others of his Stamp, muſt needs conclude, that if this Author could make the Nation ſee his Adverſaries under the Colours he paints them in, we had nothing elſe to do, but riſe as one Man, and deſtroy ſuch Wretches from the Face of the Earth. On the other Side, how ſhall we excuſe the Advocates for *Moderation*; among whom I could appeal to a hundred Papers of univerſal Approbation by the Cauſe they were writ for, which lay ſuch Principles to the whole Body of the *Tories*, as, if they were true, and believed, our next Buſineſs ſhould, in Prudence be, to erect Gibbets in every Pariſh, and hang them out of the way. But I ſuppoſe it is preſumed, the common People underſtand *Raillery*, or at leaſt *Rhetorick*, and will not take *Hyperboles* in too literal a Senſe; which however

however in ſome Junctures might prove a deſperate Experiment. And this is *Moderation* in the *modern* Senſe of the Word, to which, ſpeaking impartially, the Bigots of both Parties are *equally* entituled.

SECT. II.

The Sentiments of a Church-of-England *Man, with reſpect to Government.*

WE look upon it as a very juſt Reproach, though we cannot agree where to fix it, that there ſhould be ſo much Violence and Hatred in religious Matters, among Men who agree in all Fundamentals, and only differ in ſome Ceremonies, or, at moſt, mere ſpeculative Points. Yet is not this frequently the Caſe between contending Parties in a State? For Inſtance; Do not the Generality of *Whigs* and *Tories* among us, profeſs to agree in the ſame *Fundamentals*, their Loyalty to the Queen, their Abjuration of the *Pretender*, the Settlement of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line, and a Revolution Principle? Their Affection to the Church eſtabliſhed, with Toleration of Diſſenters? Nay, ſometimes

ſometimes they go farther, and paſs over into each other's Principles; the *Whigs* become great Aſſerters of the Prerogative, and the *Tories* of the People's Liberty; theſe crying down almoſt the whole Sett of Biſhops, and thoſe defending them; ſo that the Differences fairly ſtated, would be much of a ſort with thoſe of Religion among us, and amount to little more than, *who ſhould take Place*, or *go in and out firſt*, or *kiſs the Queen's Hand*; and what are theſe but a few *Court Ceremonies?* Or, *Who ſhould be in the Miniſtry?* And what is that to the Body of the Nation, but a mere *ſpeculative Point?* Yet I think it muſt be allowed, that no religious Sect ever carried their Averſions for each other to greater Heights than our State-Parties have done, who, the more to inflame their Paſſions, have mixed Religious and Civil Animoſities together; borrowing one of their Appellations from the Church, with the Addition of *High* and *Low*, how little ſoever their Diſputes relate to the Term, as it is generally underſtood.

I now proceed to deliver the Sentiments of a *Church-of-England Man*, with reſpect to Government.

He does not think the Church of *England* ſo narrowly calculated, that it cannot fall in with any regular Species of Government; nor does he think any one regular Species of Government more acceptable to God than another.

ther. The three generally received in the *Schools*, have all of them their ſeveral Perfections, and are ſubject to their ſeveral Depravations. However, few States are ruined by any Defect in their Inſtitution, but generally by the Corruption of Manners, againſt which the Inſtitution is no longer Security, and without which a very ill one may ſubſiſt and flouriſh: Whereof there are two pregnant Inſtances now in *Europe*. The firſt is the *Ariſtocracy* of *Venice*, which founded upon the wiſeſt Maxims, and digeſted by a great Length of Time, hath in our Age admitted ſo many Abuſes through the Degeneracy of the Nobles, that the Period of its Duration ſeems to approach. The other is the united Republicks of the *States-General*, where a Vein of Temperance, Induſtry, Parſimony, and a publick Spirit, running through the whole Body of the People, hath preſerved an Infant Commonwealth of an untimely Birth and ſickly Conſtitution, for above an hundred Years, through ſo many Dangers and and Difficulties, as a much more healthy one could never have ſtruggled againſt without thoſe Advantages.

WHERE Security of Perſon and Property are preſerved by Laws, which none but the *whole* can repeal, there the great Ends of Government are provided for, whether the Adminiſtration be in the Hands of *One*, or of *Many*. Where any one *Perſon* or *Body* of Men, who do not repreſent the *Whole*, ſeize into their Hands the

the Power in the laſt Reſort, there is properly no longer a Government, but what *Ariſtotle* and his Followers call the *Abuſe* and *Corruption* of one. This Diſtinction excludes Arbitrary Power, in whatever Numbers; which notwithſtanding all that *Hobbes*, *Filmer*, and others, have ſaid to its Advantage, I look upon as a greater Evil than *Anarchy* itſelf, as much as a *Savage* is a happier State of Life, than a *Slave* at the Oar.

It is reckoned ill Manners, as well as unreaſonable, for Men to quarrel upon Difference in Opinion; becauſe that is uſually ſuppoſed to be a Thing which no Man can help in himſelf; which however I do not conceive to be an univerſal infallible Maxim, except in thoſe Caſes where the Queſtion is pretty equally diſputed among the Learned and the Wiſe: Where it is otherwiſe, a Man of tolerable Reaſon, ſmall Experience, and willing to be inſtructed, may apprehend he is got into a wrong Opinion, though the whole Courſe of his Mind and Inclination would perſuade him to believe it true; he may be convinced that he is in an Error, though he does not ſee where it lies, by the bad Effects of it in the common Conduct of his Life, and by obſerving thoſe Perſons, for whoſe Wiſdom and Goodneſs he has the greateſt Deference, to be of a contrary Sentiment. According to *Hobbes*'s Compariſon of *Reaſoning* with *caſting up*

up Accounts, whoever finds a Miſtake in the *Sum Total*, muſt allow himſelf out, though after repeated Tryals he may not ſee in which Article he has miſreckoned. I will inſtance in one Opinion, which I look upon every Man obliged in Conſcience to quit, or in Prudence to conceal; I mean, that whoever argues in Defence of abſolute Power in a ſingle Perſon, tho' he offers the old plauſible Plea, that *it is his Opinion, which he cannot help, unleſs he be convinced*, ought in all free States to be treated as the common Enemy of Mankind. Yet this is laid as a heavy Charge upon the *Clergy* of the two Reigns before the *Revolution*, who under the Terms of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, are ſaid to have preach'd up the unlimited Power of the Prince, becauſe they found it a Doctrine that pleaſed the Court, and made Way for their Preferment. And I believe there may be Truth enough in this Accuſation, to convince us, that human Frailty will too often interpoſe it ſelf among Perſons of the holieſt Function. However, it may be offered in Excuſe for the Clergy, that in the beſt Societies there are ſome ill Members, which a corrupted Court and Miniſtry will induſtriouſly find out and introduce. Beſides, it is manifeſt, that the greater Number of thoſe who held and preached this Doctrine, were miſguided by equivocal Terms, and by perfect Ignorance in the Principles of Government, which they had not made any Part of their Study. The Queſtion

ſtion originally put, and as I remember to have heard it diſputed in publick Schools, was this, *Whether under any Pretence whatſoever, it may be lawful to reſiſt the ſupreme Magiſtrate?* which was held in the Negative; and this is certainly the right Opinion. But many of the Clergy and other learned Men, deceived by a dubious Expreſſion, miſtook the *Object* to which *Paſſive Obedience* was due. By the the *Supreme Magiſtrate* is properly underſtood the Legiſlative Power, which in all Government muſt be abſolute and unlimited. But the Word *Magiſtrate* ſeeming to denote a *ſingle Perſon*, and to expreſs the *executive* Power, it came to paſs, that the Obedience due to the *Legiſlature* was, for want of knowing or conſidering this eaſy Diſtinction, miſapplied to the *Adminiſtration*. Neither is it any Wonder, that the Clergy or other well-meaning People ſhould fall into this Error, which deceived *Hobbes* himſelf ſo far, as to be the Foundation of all the political Miſtakes in his Book, where he perpetually confounds the *executive* with the *legiſlative* Power, though all well-inſtituted States have ever placed them in different Hands, as may be obvious to thoſe who know any Thing of *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Thebes*, and other Republicks of *Greece*, as well as the greater One's of *Carthage* and *Rome*.

BESIDES, it is to be conſidered, that when theſe Doctrines began to be preached among

mong us, the Kingdom had not quite worn out the Memory of that unhappy *Rebellion*, under the Conſequences of which it had groaned almoſt twenty Years. And a *weak Prince*, in Conjunction with a Succeſſion of moſt proſtitute Miniſters, began again to diſpoſe the People to new Attempts, which it was, no doubt, the Clergy's Duty to endeavour to prevent, if ſome of them had not for want of Knowledge in temporal Affairs, and others perhaps from a worſe Principle, proceeded upon a Topick that ſtrictly followed, would enſlave all Mankind.

AMONG other theological Arguments made Uſe of in thoſe Times in Praiſe of Monarchy, and Juſtification of abſolute Obedience to a Prince, there ſeemed to be one of a ſingular Nature: It was urged that *Heaven* was governed by a *Monarch*, who had none to controul his Power, but was abſolutely obeyed: Then it followed, That earthly Governments were the more perfect, the nearer they imitated that in Heaven. All which I look upon as the ſtrongeſt Argument againſt *deſpotick* Power that ever was offered; ſince no Reaſon can poſſibly be aſſigned, why it is beſt for the World that God Almighty hath ſuch a Power, which doth not directly prove that no mortal Man ſhould ever have the like.

BUT though a *Church-of-England* Man thinks every

every Species of Government equally *lawful*, he does not think them equally *expedient*; or for every Countrey indifferently. There may be ſomething in the Climate, naturally diſpoſing Men towards one ſort of Obedience, as it is manifeſt all over *Aſia*, where we never read of any Commonwealth, except ſome ſmall ones on the weſtern Coaſts eſtabliſhed by the *Greeks*: There may be a great deal in the Situation of a Countrey, and in the preſent *Genius* of the People. It hath been obſerved, that the temperate Climates uſually run into moderate Governments, and the Extremes into deſpotick Power. 'Tis a Remark of *Hobbes*, that the Youth of *England* are corrupted in their Principles of Government, by reading the Authors of *Greece* and *Rome*, who writ under Commonwealths. But it might have been more fairly offered for the Honour of Liberty, that while the reſt of the known World was overrun with the arbitrary Government of ſingle Perſons, *Arts* and *Sciences* took their Riſe, and flouriſhed only in thoſe few ſmall Territories where the People were *free*. And though *Learning* may continue after *Liberty* is loſt, as it did in *Rome*, for a while, upon the Foundations laid under the Commonwealth, and the particular Patronage of ſome Emperors, yet it hardly ever began under a *Tyranny* in any Nation. Becauſe *Slavery* is of all Things the greateſt Clog and Obſtacle to *Speculation*. And indeed, arbitrary Power is but the firſt natural

Step

Step from *Anarchy* or the *Savage Life*; the adjuſting *Power* and *Freedom* being an Effect and Conſequence of maturer Thinking: And this is no where ſo duly regulated as in a limited Monarchy: Becauſe I believe it may paſs for a Maxim in State, that *the Adminiſtration cannot be placed in too* few *Hands*, nor the *Legiſlature in too* many. Now in this material Point, the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government far exceeds all others at this Time on the Earth, to which the preſent Eſtabliſhment of the *Church* doth ſo happily agree, that I think, whoever is an Enemy to *either*, muſt of Neceſſity be ſo to *both*.

He thinks, as our Monarchy is conſtituted, an Hereditary Right is much to be preferred before *Election*. Becauſe the Government here, eſpecially by ſome late Amendments, is ſo regularly diſpoſed in all its Parts, that it almoſt *executes* it ſelf. And therefore upon the Death of a Prince among us, the Adminiſtration goes on without any Rub or Interruption. For the ſame Reaſons we have little to apprehend from the *Weakneſs* or *Fury* of our Monarchs, who have ſuch wiſe Councils to guide the firſt, and Laws to reſtrain the other. And therefore this Hereditary Right ſhould be kept ſo ſacred, as never to break the Succeſſion, unleſs where the preſerving it may endanger the Conſtitution; which is not from any intrinſick Merit, or unalienable Right in a *particular Family*, but

but to avoid the Conſequences that uſually attend the Ambition of Competitors, to which elective Kingdoms are expoſed; and which is the only Obſtacle to hinder them from arriving at the greateſt Perfection that Government can poſſibly reach. Hence appears the Abſurdity of that Diſtinction between a King *de facto*, and one *de jure*, with Reſpect to us. For every *limited* Monarch is a King *de jure*, becauſe he governs by the Conſent of the *whole*, which is Authority ſufficient to aboliſh all precedent Right. If a King come in by *Conqueſt*, he is no longer a *limited* Monarch; if he afterwards conſents to Limitations, he becomes immediately King *de jure* for the ſame Reaſon.

THE great Advocates for *Succeſſion*, who affirm it ought not to be violated upon any Regard or Conſideration whatſoever, do inſiſt much upon one Argument that ſeems to carry little Weight. They would have it, that a *Crown* is a Prince's Birthright, and ought at leaſt to be as well ſecured to him and his Poſterity as the Inheritance of any private Man; in ſhort, that he has the ſame Title to his Kingdom which every Individual has to his Property: Now the Conſequence of this Doctrine muſt be, that as a Man may find ſeveral Ways to waſte, miſpend, or abuſe his Patrimony, without being anſwerable to the Laws; ſo a King may in like Manner

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do what he will with *his own*, that is, he may ſquander and miſapply his Revenues, and even alienate the Crown, without being called to an account by his Subjects. They allow ſuch a Prince to be guilty indeed of much Folly and Wickedneſs, but for thoſe he is to *anſwer to God*, as every private Man muſt do that is guilty of Miſmanagement in his own Concerns. Now the Folly of this Reaſoning will beſt appear, by applying it in a parallel Caſe: Should any Man argue, that a Phyſician is ſuppoſed to underſtand his own Art beſt; that the Law protects and encourages his Profeſſion: and therefore, although he ſhould manifeſtly preſcribe *Poiſon* to all his Patients, whereof they ſhould immediately die, he cannot be juſtly puniſhed, but is anſwerable only to God. Or ſhould the ſame be offered in behalf of a Divine, who would preach againſt Religion and moral Duties: In either of theſe two Caſes, every body would find out the Sophiſtry, and preſently anſwer, That although common Men are not exactly skilled in the Compoſition or Application of Medicines, or in preſcribing the Limits of Duty; yet the Difference between *Poiſons* and *Remedies* is eaſily known by their Effects; and common Reaſon ſoon diſtinguiſhes between *Virtue* and *Vice*: And it muſt be neceſſary to forbid both theſe the further Practice of their Profeſſions, becauſe their Crimes are not purely perſonal to the Phyſician or the Divine, but deſtructive to the Publick. All which is infinitely ſtronger in reſpect to a Prince, with whoſe good or ill Conduct the Happineſs or Miſery

of a whole Nation is included; whereas it is of ſmall Conſequence to the Publick, farther than Examples, how any private Perſon manages his Property.

BUT granting that the Right of a lineal Succeſſor to a Crown were upon the ſame Foot with the Property of a Subject; ſtill it may at any time be transferred by the legiſlative Power, as other Properties frequently are. The ſupreme Power in a State can *do no wrong*, becauſe whatever that doth, is the Action of all: And when the *Lawyers* apply this Maxim to the *King*, they muſt underſtand it only in that Senſe as he is Adminiſtrator of the ſupreme Power, otherwiſe it is not univerſally true, but may be controuled in ſeveral Inſtances eaſy to produce.

AND theſe are the Topicks we muſt proceed upon to juſtify our Excluſion of the young *Pretender* in *France*; that of his ſuſpected Birth being merely popular, and therefore not made uſe of, as I remember, ſince the Revolution, in any Speech, Vote, or Proclamation, where there was occaſion to mention him.

AS to the *Abdication* of King *James*, which the Advocates on that ſide look upon to have been forcible and unjuſt, and conſequently void in itſelf, I think a Man may obſerve every Article of the *Engliſh* Church, without being in much Pain about it. 'Tis not unlikely that all Doors were laid open for his Departure, and perhaps

haps not without the Privity of the Prince of *Orange*, as reaſonably concluding that the Kingdom might better be ſettled in his Abſence; but to affirm he had any Cauſe to apprehend the ſame Treatment with his *Father*, is an improbable Scandal flung upon the Nation by a few bigotted *French* Scriblers, or the invidious Aſſertion of a ruined Party at home, in the Bitterneſs of their Souls. Not one material Circumſtance agreeing with thoſe in 1648; and the greateſt Part of the Nation having preſerved the utmoſt Horror for that ignominious *Murder:* But whether his Removal were cauſed by his own *Fears*, or other Men's *Artifices*, 'tis manifeſt to me, that ſuppoſing the Throne to be vacant, which was the Foot they went upon, the Body of the People was thereupon left at Liberty, to chuſe what Form of Government they pleaſed, by themſelves or their Repreſentatives.

THE only Difficulty of any weight, againſt the Proceedings at the Revolution, is an obvious Objection, to which the Writers upon that Subject have yet not given a direct or ſufficient Anſwer, as if they were in Pain at ſome Conſequences, which they apprehend thoſe of the contrary Opinion might draw from it. I will repeat this Objection as it was offered me ſome time ago, with all its Advantages, by a very pious, learned, and worthy Gentleman of the Nonjuring Party.

THE Force of his Argument turned upon this; That the Laws made by the ſupreme Power,

cannot otherwiſe than by the ſupreme Power be annulled: That this conſiſting in *England* of a King, Lords, and Commons, whereof each have a negative Voice, no two of them can repeal or enact a Law without Conſent of the third; much leſs may any one of them be entirely excluded from its Part of the Legiſlature by a *Vote* of the other two. That all theſe Maxims were openly violated at the Revolution; where an Aſſembly of the *Nobles* and *People*, not ſummoned by the King's Writ, (which was then an eſſential Part of the Conſtitution) and conſequently no lawful Meeting did merely upon their own Authority declare the King to have abdicated, the Throne vacant, and gave the Crown by a Vote to a *Nephew*, when there were three Children to inherit, though by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, the next Heir is immediately to ſucceed. Neither doth it appear how a Prince's *Abdication* can make any other ſort of Vacancy in the Throne, than would be cauſed by his Death, ſince he cannot abdicate for his Children, (who claim their Right of Succeſſion by Act of Parliament) otherwiſe than by his own Conſent in form to a Bill from the two Houſes.

And this is the Difficulty that ſeems chiefly to ſtick with the moſt reaſonable of thoſe who, from a mere Scruple of Conſcience, refuſe to join with us upon the Revolution Principle; but for the reſt, are I believe as far from loving arbitrary Government, as any others can be, who are born under a free Conſtitution, and are allowed

lowed to have the leaſt Share of common good Senſe.

In this Objection there are two Queſtions included: Firſt, Whether upon the Foot of our Conſtitution, as it ſtood in the Reign of the late King *James*, a King of *England* may be depoſed? The ſecond, is, Whether the People of *England*, convened by their own Authority, after the King had withdrawn himſelf in the manner he did, had Power to alter the Succeſſion.

As for the firſt, it is a Point I ſhall not preſume to determine; and ſhall therefore only ſay, that to any Man who holds the Negative, I would demand the Liberty of putting the Caſe as ſtrongly as I pleaſe. I will ſuppoſe a Prince limited by Laws like ours, yet running into a thouſand Caprices of Cruelty like *Nero* or *Caligula*; I will ſuppoſe him to murder his Mother and his Wife; to commit Inceſt, to raviſh Matrons, to blow up the Senate, and burn his Metropolis; openly to renounce God and Chriſt, and worſhip the Devil: Theſe and the like Exorbitances are in the Power of a ſingle perſon to commit without the Advice or a Miniſtry, or Aſſiſtance of an Army. And if ſuch a King as I have deſcribed, cannot be depoſed but by his own Conſent in Parliament, I do not well ſee how he can be *reſiſted*, or what can be meant by a *limited* Monarchy; or what ſignifies the People's Conſent in making and repealing Laws: if the Perſon who adminiſters hath no Tie but

Conſcience, and is anſwerable to none but God. I deſire no ſtronger Proof that an Opinion muſt be falſe, than to find very great Abſurdities annexed to it; and there cannot be greater than in the preſent Caſe; for it is not a bare Speculation that Kings may run into ſuch Enormities as are above-mention'd; the Practice may be proved by Examples not only drawn from the firſt *Caſars*, or later Emperors, but many modern Princes of *Europe*; ſuch as *Peter* the *Cruel*, *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, *John Baſilovits* of *Muſcovy*; and in our own Nation, King *John*, *Richard* the Third, and *Henry* the Eighth. But there cannot be equal Abſurdities ſuppoſed in maintaining the contrary Opinion, becauſe it is certain that Princes have it in their Power to keep a Majority on their Side by any tolerable Adminiſtration, till provoked by continual Oppreſſions; no Man indeed can then anſwer where the Madneſs of the People will ſtop.

As to the ſecond Part of the Objection; whether the People of *England* convened by their own Authority, upon King *James*'s precipitate Departure, had Power to alter the Succeſſion?

In anſwer to this, I think it is manifeſt from the Practice of the wiſeſt Nations, and who ſeem to have had the trueſt Notions of Freedom, that when a Prince was laid aſide for Male-Adminiſtration, the *Nobles* and *People*, if they thought it neceſſary for the publick Weal, did reſume the Adminiſtration of the ſupreme Power.

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(the Power itſelf having been always in them) and did not only alter the Succeſſion, but often the very Form of Government too; becauſe they believed there was no natural Right in one Man to govern another, but that all was by Inſtitution, Force, or Conſent. Thus, the Cities of *Greece*, when they drove out their tyrannical Kings, either choſe others from a new Family, or aboliſhed the Kingly Government, and became Free States. Thus the *Romans*, upon the Expulſion of *Tarquin*, found it was inconvenient for them to be ſubject any longer to the Pride, the Luſt, the Cruelty and arbitrary Will of ſingle Perſons, and therefore by general Conſent entirely altered the whole Frame of their Government. Nor do I find the Proceedings of either, in this Point, to have been condemned by any Hiſtorian of the ſucceeding Ages.

BUT a great deal hath been already ſaid by other Writers upon this invidious and beaten Subject; therefore I ſhall let it fall; though the Point is commonly miſtaken, eſpecially by the *Lawyers*; who of all others ſeem leaſt to underſtand the Nature of Government in general; like Underworkmen, who are expert enough at making a ſingle Wheel in a Clock, but are utterly ignorant how to adjuſt the ſeveral Parts, or regulate the Movement.

TO return therefore from this Digreſſion: It is a *Church-of-England* Man's Opinion, That the Freedom of a Nation conſiſts in an abſolute *Unlimited*

limited Legiſlative Power, wherein the whole Body of the People are fairly repreſented, and in an *Executive* duly *limited*: becauſe on this Side likewiſe there may be dangerous Degrees, and a very ill Extreme. For when two Parties in a State are pretty equal in *Power*, *Pretenſions*, *Merit*, and *Virtue*, (for theſe two laſt are, with relation to Parties and a Court, quite different Things) it hath been the Opinion of the beſt Writers upon Government, that a Prince ought not in any ſort to be under the Guidance or Influence of either, becauſe he declines by this means from his Office of preſiding over the *whole*, to be the Head of a *Party*; which beſides the Indignity, renders him anſwerable for all publick Miſmanagements, and the Conſequences of them; and in whatever State this happens, there muſt either be a Weakneſs in the Prince or Miniſtry, or elſe the former is too much reſtrained by the Legiſlature.

To conclude: A *Church-of-England* Man may with Prudence and a good Conſcience approve the profeſſed Principles of one Party more than the other, according as he thinks they beſt promote the Good of Church and State; but he will never be ſway'd by Paſſion or Intereſt to advance an Opinion merely becauſe it is *That* of the Party he moſt approves; which one ſingle Principle he looks upon as the Root of all our Civil Animoſities. To enter into a Party, as into an Order of *Fryars*, with ſo reſigned an Obedience to Superiors, is very unſuitable both with the

the Civil and Religious Liberties, we ſo zealouſly aſſert. Thus the Underſtandings of a whole Senate are often enſlaved by three or four Leaders on each Side, who inſtead of intending the publick Weal, have their Hearts wholly ſet upon Ways and Means how to get or to keep Employments. But to ſpeak more at large, how has this Spirit of Faction mingled itſelf in with the Maſs of the People, changed their Nature and Manners, and the very Genius of the Nation? broke all the Laws of Charity, Neighbourhood, Alliance, and Hoſpitality, deſtroy'd all Ties of Friendſhip, and divided Families againſt themſelves? And no wonder it ſhould be ſo, when in order to find out the Character of a Perſon, inſtead of enquiring whether he be a Man of Virtue, Honour, Piety, Wit, good Senſe, or Learning; the modern Queſtion is only whether he be a *Whig* or a *Tory*, under which Terms all good and ill Qualities are included.

Now, becauſe it is a Point of Difficulty to chuſe an exact Middle between two ill Extremes, it may be worth enquiring in the preſent Caſe, which of theſe a wiſe and good Man would rather ſeem to avoid: Taking therefore their own good and ill Characters with due Abatements and Allowances for Partiality and Paſſion, I ſhould think that in order to preſerve the Conſtitution entire in Church and State, whoever has a true Value for both, would be ſure to avoid the Extremes of *Whig* for the ſake of the former, and the Extremes of *Tory* on account of the latter.

I have now ſaid all I could think convenient upon ſo nice a Subject, and find I have the Ambition common with other Reaſoners, to wiſh at leaſt that both Parties may think me *in the right*, which would be of ſome Uſe to thoſe who have any Virtue left, but are blindly drawn into the Extravagancies of either, upon falſe Repreſentations, to ſerve the Ambition or Malice of deſigning Men without any Proſpect of their own. But if that is not to be hoped for, my next Wiſh ſhould be, that both might think me *in the wrong*; which I would underſtand as an ample Juſtification of myſelf, and a ſure Ground to believe that I have proceeded at leaſt with Impartiality, and perhaps with Truth.

AN

AN ARGUMENT

To prove that the ABOLISHING of

CHRISTIANITY IN *ENGLAND*,

May, as Things now ſtand, be attended with ſome Inconveniencies, and perhaps not produce thoſe many good Effects propoſed thereby.

Written in the Year 1708.

I AM very ſenſible what a Weakneſs and preſumption it is, to reaſon againſt the general Humour and Diſpoſition of the World. I remember it was with great Juſtice, and a due Regard to the Freedom both of the Publick and the Preſs, forbidden upon

ſeveral Penalties to write, or diſcourſe, or lay wagers againſt the—— even before it was confirmed by Parliament; becauſe that was look'd upon as a Deſign to oppoſe the Current of the People, which beſides the Folly of it, is a manifeſt Breach of the fundamental Law, that makes this Majority of Opinions the Voice of God. In like manner, and for the very ſame reaſons, it may perhaps be neither ſafe nor prudent to argue againſt the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity, at a Juncture when all Parties ſeem ſo unanimouſly determined upon the Point, as we cannot but allow from their Actions, their Diſcourſes, and their Writings. However, I know not how, whether from the Affectation of Singularity, or the Perverſeneſs of human Nature, but ſo it unhappily falls out, that I cannot be entirely of this Opinion. Nay, though I were ſure an Order were iſſued for my immediate Proſecution by the Attorney-General, I ſhould ſtill confeſs, that in the preſent Poſture of our Affairs at home or abroad, I do not yet ſee the abſolute Neceſſity of extirpating the Chriſtian Religion from among us.

THIS perhaps may appear too great a Paradox even for our wiſe and paradoxical Age to endure; therefore I ſhall handle it with all Tenderneſs, and with the utmoſt Deference to that great and profound Majority which is of another Sentiment.

AND

And yet the Curious may please to observe, how much the Genius of a Nation is liable to alter in half an Age: I have heard it affirmed for certain by some very odd People, that the contrary Opinion was even in their Memories as much in vogue as the other is now; and that a Project for the abolishing of Christianity would then have appeared as singular, and been thought as absurd, as it would be at this Time to write or discourse in its Defence.

Therefore I freely own, that all Appearances are against me. The System of the Gospel, after the Fate of other Systems, is generally antiquated and exploded; and the Mass or Body of the common People, among whom it seems to have had its latest Credit, are now grown as much ashamed of it as their Betters; Opinions, like Fashions, always descending from those of Quality to the middle Sort, and thence to the Vulgar, where at length they are dropp'd and vanish.

But here I would not be mistaken, and must therefore be so bold as to borrow a Distinction from the Writers on the other Side, when they make a Difference betwixt nominal and real *Trinitarians*. I hope no Reader imagines me so weak to stand up in the Defence of real Christianity, such as used in primitive Times (if we may believe the Authors of those Ages) to have an Influence upon Mens Belief and Actions:

To

To offer at the reſtoring of that, would indeed be a wild Project, it would be to dig up Foundations: to deſtroy at one Blow all the Wit, and half the Learning of the Kingdom; to break the entire Frame and Conſtitution of Things; to ruin Trade, extinguiſh Arts and Sciences, with the Profeſſors of them; in ſhort, to turn our Courts, Exchanges, and Shops into Deſarts; and would be full as abſurd as the Propoſal of *Horace*, where he adviſes the *Romans*, all in a Body, to leave their City and ſeek a new Seat in ſome remote Part of the World, by way of a Cure for the Corruption of their Manners.

THEREFORE I think this Caution was in itſelf altogether unneceſſary, (which I have inſerted only to prevent all poſſibility of Cavilling) ſince every candid Reader will eaſily underſtand my Diſcourſe to be intended only in Defence of nominal Chriſtianity, the other having been for ſome time wholly laid aſide by general Conſent, as utterly inconſiſtent with all our preſent Schemes of Wealth and Power.

BUT why we ſhould therefore caſt off the Name and Title of Chriſtians, although the general Opinion and Reſolution be ſo violent for it, I confeſs I cannot (with Submiſſion) apprehend the Conſequence neceſſary. However, ſince the Undertakers propoſe ſuch wonderful Advantages to the Nation by this Project, and advance many plauſible Objections againſt the Syſtem of Chriſtianity, I ſhall briefly conſider the Strength

Strength of both, fairly allow them their greatest Weight, and offer such Answers as I think most reasonable. After which I will beg leave to shew what Inconveniencies may possibly happen by such an Innovation, in the present Posture of our Affairs.

FIRST, One great Advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity is, That it would very much enlarge and establish Liberty of Conscience, that great Bulwark of our Nation, and of the Protestant Religion, which is still too much limited by Priest-craft, notwithstanding all the good Intentions of the Legislature, as we have lately found by a severe Instance. For it is confidently reported, that two young Gentlemen of real Hopes, bright Wit, and profound Judgment, who, upon a thorough Examination of Causes and Effects, and by the meer Force of natural Abilities, without the least Tincture of Learning, having made a Discovery, that there was no God, and generously communicating their Thoughts for the Good of the Publick, were some Time ago, by an unparallel'd Severity, and upon I know not what obsolete Law, broke for Blasphemy. And as it hath been wisely observed, if Persecution once begins, no Man alive knows how far it may reach, or where it will end.

IN answer to all which, with Deference to wiser Judgments, I think this rather shews the Necessity of a nominal Religion among us. Great Wits love to be free with the highest Objects;

jects; and if they cannot be allowed a God to revile or renounce, they will ſpeak evil of Dignities, abuſe the Government, and reflect upon the Miniſtry, which I am ſure few will deny to be of much more pernicious Conſequence, according to the ſaying of *Tiberius*, *Deorum Offenſa Diis curæ*. As to the particular Fact related, I think it is not fair to argue from one Inſtance, perhaps another cannot be produced: yet (to the Comfort of all thoſe who may be apprehenſive of Perſecution) Blaſphemy we know is freely ſpoke a Million of Times in every Coffee-houſe and Tavern, or where-ever elſe good Company meet. It muſt be allowed indeed, that to break an *Engliſh* Free-born Officer only for Blaſphemy, was, to ſpeak the gentleſt of ſuch an Action, a very high Strain of abſolute Power. Little can be ſaid in excuſe for the General; perhaps he was afraid it might give Offence to the Allies, among whom, for ought we know, it may be the Cuſtom of the Country to believe a God. But if he argued, as ſome have done, upon a miſtaken Principle, that an Officer who is guilty of ſpeaking Blaſphemy, may ſome time or other proceed ſo far as to raiſe a Mutiny, the Conſequence is by no means to be admitted: For, ſurely the Commander of an *Engliſh* Army is like to be but ill obey'd, whoſe Soldiers fear and reverence him as little as they do a Deity.

It is further objected againſt the Goſpel Syſtem, that it obliges men to the Belief of Things

Things too difficult for Free-Thinkers, and ſuch who have ſhook off the Prejudices that uſually cling to a confin'd Education. To which I anſwer, that Men ſhould be cautious how they raiſe Objections which reflect upon the Wiſdom of the Nation. Is not every Body freely allowed to believe whatever he pleaſes, and to publiſh his Belief to the World whenever he thinks fit, eſpecially if it ſerves to ſtrengthen the Party which is in the Right? Would any indifferent Foreigner, who ſhould read the Trumpery lately written by *Aſgill*, *Tindall*, *Toland*, *Coward*, and forty more, imagine the Goſpel to be our Rule of Faith, and to be confirmed by Parliaments? Does any Man either believe, or ſay he believes, or deſire to have it thought that he ſays he believes one Syllable of the Matter? And is any Man worſe received upon that Score, or does he find his Want of nominal Faith a Diſadvantage to him in the Purſuit of any Civil or Military Employment? What if there be an old dormant Statute or two againſt him, are they not now obſolete, to a Degree, that *Empſon* and *Dudley* themſelves, if they were now alive, would find it impoſſible to put them in execution.

It is likewiſe urged, that there are, by computation, in this Kingdom, above ten thouſand Parſons, whoſe Revenues, added to thoſe of my Lords the Biſhops, would ſuffice to maintain at leaſt two hundred young Gentlemen of Wit and Pleaſure, and Free-thinking Enemies to Prieſtcraft, narrow Principles, Pedantry, and Prejudices,

dices, who might be an Ornament to the Court and Town: And then again, ſo great a Number of able [bodied] Divines might be a Recruit to our Fleet and Armies. This indeed appears to be a Conſideration of ſome Weight: But then, on the other Side, ſeveral Things deſerve to be conſidered likewiſe: As, Firſt, Whether it may not be thought neceſſary that in certain Tracts of Country, like what we call Pariſhes, there ſhould be one Man at leaſt, of Abilities to read and write. Then it ſeems a wrong Computation, that the Revenues of the Church throughout this Iſland would be large enough to maintain two hundred young Gentlemen, or even half that Number, after the preſent refined Way of Living, that is, to allow each of them ſuch a Rent, as in the modern Form of Speech, would make them eaſy. But ſtill there is in this Project a greater Miſchief behind; and we ought to beware of the Woman's Folly, who killed the Hen that every Morning laid her a golden Egg. For, pray what would become of the Race of Men in the next Age, if we had nothing to truſt to beſides the ſcrophulous conſumptive Production furniſhed by our Men of Wit and Pleaſure, when having ſquandered away their Vigour, Health, and Eſtates, they are forced, by ſome diſagreeable Marriage, to piece up their broken Fortunes, and entail Rottenneſs and Politeneſs on their Poſterity? Now, here are ten thouſand Perſons reduced, by the wiſe Regulations of *Henry* the Eighth, to the Neceſſity of a low Diet, and moderate Exerciſe, who are the only great

great Restorers of our Breed, without which the Nation would in an Age or two become one great Hospital.

ANOTHER Advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity, is the clear Gain of one Day in seven, which is now entirely lost, and consequently the Kingdom one seventh less considerable in Trade, Business, and Pleasure; beside the Loss to the Publick of so many stately Structures now in the Hands of the Clergy, which might be converted into Play-houses, Exchanges, Market-houses, common Dormitories, and other publick Edifices.

I HOPE I shall be forgiven a hard Word if I call this a perfect Cavil. I readily own there hath been an old Custom, Time out of Mind, for People to assemble in the Churches every *Sunday*, and that Shops are still frequently shut, in order, as it is conceived, to preserve the Memory of that ancient Practice; but how this can prove a Hindrance to Business or Pleasure, is hard to imagine. What if the Men of Pleasure are forced, one Day in the Week, to game at Home instead of the *Chocolate-House*? Are not the *Taverns* and *Coffee-Houses* open? Can there be a more convenient Season for taking a Dose of Physick? Are fewer Claps got upon *Sundays* than other Days? Is not that the chief Day for Traders to sum up the Accounts of the Week, and for Lawyers to prepare their Briefs? But I would fain know how it can be pretended that the

the Churches are miſapplied? Where are more Appointments and Rendevouzes of Gallantry? Where more Care to appear in the fore-moſt Box, with greater Advantage of Dreſs? Where more Meetings for Buſineſs? Where more Bargains driven of all Sorts? And where ſo many Conveniencies or Incitements to Sleep?

THERE is one Advantage greater than any of the foregoing, propoſed by the Aboliſhing of Chriſtianity, that it will utterly extinguiſh Parties among us, by removing thoſe factious Diſtinctions of High and Low Church, of *Whig* and *Tory*, *Presbyterian* and *Church of England*, which are now ſo many mutual Clogs upon publick Proceedings, and are apt to prefer the gratifying themſelves or depreſſing their Adverſaries, before the moſt important Intereſt of the State.

I CONFESS, if it were certain that ſo great an Advantage would redound to the Nation by this Expedient, I would ſubmit, and be ſilent: But, will any Man ſay, that if the Words *Whoring*, *Drinking*, *Cheating*, *Lying*, *Stealing*, were by Act of Parliament ejected out of the *Engliſh* Tongue and Dictionaries, we ſhould all awake next Morning chaſte and temperate, honeſt and juſt, and Lovers of Truth. Is this a fair Conſequence? Or if the Phyſicians would forbid us to pronounce the Words *Pox*, *Gout*, *Rheumatiſm*, and *Stone*, would that Expedient ſerve like ſo many *Taliſmans* to deſtroy the Diſeaſes themſelves? Are Party and Faction rooted in Mens Hearts

Hearts no deeper than Phraſes borrowed from Religion, or founded upon no firmer Principles? And is our Language ſo poor, that we cannot find other Terms to expreſs them? Are Envy, Pride, Avarice and Ambition ſuch ill Nomenclators, that they cannot furniſh Appellations for their Owners? Will not *Heydukes* and *Mamalukes*, *Mandarins*, and *Patſhaws*, or any other Words formed at pleaſure, ſerve to diſtinguiſh thoſe who are in the Miniſtry from others, who would be in it if they could? What, for inſtance, is eaſier than to vary the Form of Speech, and inſtead of the Word Church, make it a Queſtion in Politicks, Whether the Monument be in danger? Becauſe Religion was neareſt at hand to furniſh a few convenient Phraſes, is our Invention ſo barren, we can find no other? Suppoſe, for Argument Sake, that the *Tories* favoured *Margarita*, the *Whigs* Mrs. *Toſts*, and the *Trimmers Valentini*, would not *Margaritians*, *Toſtians* and *Valentinians* be very tolerable Marks of Diſtinction? The *Praſini* and *Veniti*, two moſt virulent Factions in *Italy*, began (if I remember right) by a Diſtinction of Colours in Ribbonds, which we might do with as good a Grace about the Dignity of the *Blue* and the *Green*, and ſerve as properly to divide the Court, the Parliament, and the Kingdom between them, as any Terms of Art whatſoever, borrowed from Religion. And therefore I think there is little Force in this Objection againſt Chriſtianity, or Proſpect of ſo great an Advantage as is propoſed in the Aboliſhing of it.

'Tis

'Tis again objected, as a very abſurd ridiculous Cuſtom, that a Set of Men ſhould be ſuffered, much leſs employed and hired, to bawl one Day in Seven againſt the Lawfulneſs of thoſe Methods moſt in Uſe towards the Purſuit of Greatneſs, Riches, and Pleaſure, which are the conſtant Practice of all Men alive on the other Six. But this Objection is, I think, a little unworthy ſo refined an Age as ours. Let us argue this Matter calmly; I appeal to the Breaſt of any polite Free-Thinker, whether, in the Purſuit of gratifying a predominant Paſſion, he hath not always felt a wonderful Incitement, by reflecting it was a Thing forbidden: And therefore we ſee, in order to cultivate this Teſt, the Wiſdom of the Nation hath taken ſpecial Care, that the Ladies ſhould be furniſhed with prohibited Silks, and the Men with prohibited Wine: And indeed it were to be wiſhed, that ſome other Prohibitions were promoted, in order to improve the Pleaſures of the Town; which, for want of ſuch Expedients, begin already, as I am told, to flag and grow languid, giving way daily to cruel Inroads from the Spleen.

'Tis likewiſe propoſed, as a great Advantage to the Publick, that if we once diſcard the Syſtem of the Goſpel, all Religion will of courſe be baniſhed for ever, and conſequently along with it, thoſe grievous Prejudices of Education, which, under the Names of Conſcience, Honour, Juſtice, and the like, are ſo apt to diſturb the

Peace of human Minds, and the Notions whereof are so hard to be eradicated by right Reason or Free-Thinking, sometimes during the whole Course of our Lives.

HERE first I observe how difficult it is to get rid of a Phrase which the World is once grown fond of, tho' the Occasion that first produced it be entirely taken away. For some Years past, if a Man had but an ill-favour'd Nose, the deep Thinkers of the Age would some way or other contrive to impute the Cause to the Prejudice of his Education. From this Fountain were said to be derived all our foolish Notions of Justice, Piety, Love of our Country; all our Opinions of God or a future State, Heaven, Hell, and the like: And there might formerly perhaps have been some Pretence for this Charge. But so effectual Care hath been since taken to remove those Prejudices, by an entire Change in the Methods of Education, that (with Honour I mention it to our polite Innovators) the young Gentlemen, who are now on the Scene, seem to have not the least Tincture left of those Infusions, or String of those Weeds, and by consequence the Reason for abolishing nominal Christianity upon that Pretext, is wholly ceas'd.

FOR the rest, it may perhaps admit a Controversy, whether the banishing all Notions of Religion whatsoever would be inconvenient for the Vulgar. Not that I am in the least of Opinion with those who hold Religion to have been the

the Invention of Politicians, to keep the lower Part of the World in Awe by the Fear of inviſible Powers; unleſs Mankind were then very different from what it is now: For I look upon the Maſs or Body of our People here in *England*, to be as Free-Thinkers, that is to ſay, as ſtaunch Unbelievers, as any of the higheſt Rank. But I conceive ſome ſcattered Notions about a ſuperior Power to be of ſingular Uſe for the common People, as furniſhing excellent Materials to keep Children quiet when they grow peeviſh, and providing Topicks of Amuſement in a tedious Winter-Night.

LASTLY, 'Tis propoſed as a ſingular Advantage, that the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity will very much contribute to the uniting of *Proteſtants*, by enlarging the Terms of Communion ſo as to take in all ſorts of *Diſſenters*, who are now ſhut out of the Pale upon Account of a few Ceremonies, which all Sides confeſs to be Things indifferent: That this alone will effectually anſwer the great Ends of a Scheme for Comprehenſion, by opening a large noble Gate, at which all Bodies may enter; whereas the chaffering with *Diſſenters*, and dodging about this or t'other Ceremony, is but like opening a few Wickets, and leaving them at Jar, by which no more than one can get in at a Time, and that not without ſtooping, and ſideling, and ſqueezing his Body.

TO all this I anſwer, That there is one darling Inclination of Mankind, which uſually affects

to be a Retainer to Religion, though she be neither its Parent, its Godmother, nor its Friend; I mean the Spirit of Opposition, that lived long before Christianity, and can easily subsist without it. Let us, for instance, examine wherein the Opposition of Sectaries among us consists; we shall find Christianity to have no Share in it at all. Does the Gospel any where prescribe a starched squeezed Countenance, a stiff formal Gait, a Singularity of Manners and Habit, or any affected Forms and Modes of Speech different from the reasonable Part of Mankind? Yet, if Christianity did not lend its Name to stand in the Gap, and to employ or divert these Humours, they must of necessity be spent in Contraventions to the Laws of the Land, and Disturbance of the publick Peace. There is a Portion of Enthusiasm assigned to every Nation, which if it hath not proper Objects to work on, will burst out, and set all into a Flame. If the Quiet of a State can be bought by only flinging Men a few Ceremonies to devour, it is a Purchase no wise Man would refuse. Let the Mastiffs amuse themselves about a Sheep's Skin stuffed with Hay, provided it will keep them from worrying the Flock. The Institution of Convents abroad, seems in one point a Strain of great Wisdom, there being few Irregularities in human Passions, which may not have recourse to vent themselves in some of those Orders, which are so many Retreats for the Speculative, the Melancholy, the Proud, the Silent, the Politick, and the Morose, to spend themselves, and evaporate the noxious Particles; for each of

whom we in this Iſland are forced to provide a ſeveral Sect of Religion, to keep them quiet; and whenever Chriſtianity ſhall be aboliſhed, the Legiſlature muſt find ſome other Expedient to employ and entertain them. For what imports it how large a Gate you open, if there will be always left a Number who place a Pride and a Merit in not coming in?

HAVING thus conſider'd the moſt important Objections againſt Chriſtianity, and the chief Advantages propoſed by the Aboliſhing thereof; I ſhall now with equal Deference and Submiſſion to wiſer Judgments, as before, proceed to mention a few Inconveniencies that may happen, if the Goſpel ſhould be repealed; which perhaps the Projectors may not have ſufficiently conſidered.

AND firſt, I am very ſenſible how much the Gentlemen of Wit and Pleaſure are apt to murmur, and be choaked at the Sight of ſo many daggled-tail Parſons, that happen to fall in their Way, and offend their Eyes; but at the ſame time theſe wiſe Reformers do not conſider what an Advantage and Felicity it is, for great Wits to be always provided with Objects of Scorn and Contempt, in order to exerciſe and improve their Talents, and divert their Spleen from falling on each other, or on themſelves, eſpecially when all this may be done without the leaſt imaginable Danger to their Perſons.

AND

AND to urge another Argument of a parallel Nature: If Chriſtianity were once aboliſhed, how could the Free-Thinkers, the ſtrong Reaſoners, and the Men of profound Learning, be able to find another Subject ſo calculated in all Points whereon to diſplay their Abilities. What wonderful Productions of Wit ſhould we be deprived of, from thoſe whoſe Genius, by continual Practice, hath been wholly turn'd upon Raillery and Invectives againſt Religion, and would therefore never be able to ſhine or diſtinguiſh themſelves upon any other Subject. We are daily complaining of the great Decline of Wit among us, and would we take away the greateſt, perhaps the only Topic we have left? Who would ever have ſuſpected *Aſgill* for a Wit, or *Toland* for a Philoſopher, if the inexhauſtible Stock of Chriſtianity had not been at hand to provide them with Materials? What other Subject through all Art or Nature could have produced *Tindall* for a profound Author, or furniſhed him with Readers? It is the wiſe Choice of the Subject that alone adorns and diſtinguiſhes the Writer. For had a Hundred ſuch Pens as theſe have been employ'd on the ſide of Religion, they would have immediately ſunk into Silence and Oblivion.

NOR do I think it wholly groundleſs, or my Fears altogether imaginary, that the Aboliſhing of Chriſtianity may perhaps bring the Church in Danger, or at leaſt put the Senate to the Trouble of another ſecuring Vote. I deſire I may not

be miſtaken; I am far from preſuming to affirm or think that the Church is in Danger at preſent, or as Things now ſtand; but we know not how ſoon it may be ſo, when the Chriſtian Religion is repealed. As plauſible as this Project ſeems, there may a dangerous Deſign lurk under it: Nothing can be more notorious, than that the *Atheiſts*, *Deiſts*, *Socinians*, *Anti-Trinitarians*, and other Sub-diviſions of Free-Thinkers, are Perſons of little Zeal for the preſent eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment: Their declared Opinion is for repealing the Sacramental Teſt; they are very indifferent with regard to Ceremonies; nor do they hold the *Jus Divinum* of Epiſcopacy: Therefore they may be intended as one politick Step towards altering the Conſtitution of the Church eſtabliſhed, and ſetting up *Presbytery* in the Stead, which I leave to be further conſider'd by thoſe at the Helm.

In the laſt Place I think nothing can be more plain, than that by this Expedient, we ſhall run into the Evil we chiefly pretend to avoid; and that the Aboliſhment of the *Chriſtian* Religion, will be the readieſt Courſe we can take to introduce Popery. And I am the more inclined to this Opinion, becauſe we know it has been the conſtant Practice of the *Jeſuits* to ſend over Emiſſaries, with Inſtructions to perſonate themſelves Members of the ſeveral prevailing Sects amongſt us. So it is recorded, that they have at ſundry Times appeared in the Guiſe of *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Independents*, and *Quakers*, according

according as any of these were most in Credit; so, since the Fashion hath been taken up of exploding Religion, the *Popish* Missionaries have not been wanting to mix with the Free-Thinkers; among whom *Toland*, the great Oracle of the *Anti-Christians*, is an *Irish* Priest, the Son of an *Irish* Priest; and the most learned and ingenious Author of a Book called the *Rights of the Christian Church*, was in a proper Juncture reconciled to the *Romish* Faith, whose true Son, as appears by a hundred Passages in his Treatise, he still continues. Perhaps I could add some others to the Number; but the Fact is beyond Dispute, and the Reasoning they proceed by is right: For supposing Christianity to be extinguished, the People will never be at Ease till they find out some other Method of Worship; which will as infallibly produce Superstition, as this will end in *Popery*.

And therefore, if notwithstanding all I have said, it still be thought necessary to have a Bill brought in for repealing Christianity, I would humbly offer an Amendment, That instead of the Word Christianity may be put Religion in general, which I conceive will much better answer all the good Ends proposed by the Projectors of it. For, as long as we leave in being, a God and his Providence, with all the necessary Consequences which curious and inquisitive Men will be apt to draw from such Premises, we do not strike at the Root of the Evil, though we should ever so effectually annihilate the present

Scheme of the Goſpel: For, of what Uſe is Freedom of Thought, if it will not produce Freedom of Action, which is the ſole End, how remote ſoever in Appearance, of all Objections againſt Chriſtianity; and therefore, the Free-Thinkers conſider it as a Sort of Edifice, wherein all the Parts have ſuch a mutual Dependance on each other, that if you happen to pull out one ſingle Nail, the whole Fabrick muſt fall to the Ground. This was happily expreſs'd by him who had heard of a Text brought for Proof of the Trinity, which in an ancient Manuſcript was differently read; he thereupon immediately took the Hint, and by a ſudden Deduction of a long Sorites, moſt Logically concluded: Why, if it be as you ſay, I may ſafely whore and drink on, and defy the Parſon. From which, and many the like Inſtances eaſy to be produced, I think nothing can be more manifeſt, than that the Quarrel is not againſt any particular Points of hard Digeſtion in the Chriſtian Syſtem, but againſt Religion in general, which, by laying Reſtraints on human Nature, is ſuppoſed the great Enemy to the Freedom of Thought and Action.

UPON the whole, if it ſhall ſtill be thought for the Benefit of Church and State, that Chriſtianity be aboliſhed, I conceive however, it may be more convenient to defer the Execution to a Time of Peace, and not venture in this Conjuncture to diſoblige our Allies, who, as it falls out, are all Chriſtians, and many of them, by the Prejudices of their Education, ſo bigotted,

as

as to place a ſort of Pride in the Appellation. If upon being rejected by them, we are to truſt to an Alliance with the *Turk*, we ſhall find our ſelves much deceived: For, as he is too remote, and generally engaged in War with the *Perſian* Emperor, ſo his People would be more ſcandalized at our Infidelity, than our Chriſtian Neighbours. For they are not only ſtrict Obſervers of religious Worſhip, but, what is worſe, believe a God; which is more than is required of us, even while we preſerve the Name of Chriſtians.

To conclude: Whatever ſome may think of the great Advantages to Trade by this favourite Scheme, I do very much apprehend, that in ſix Months Time after the Act is paſt for the Extirpation of the Goſpel, the Bank and *Eaſt-India* Stock, may fall at leaſt One *per Cent.* And ſince that is fifty Times more than ever the Wiſdom of our Age thought fit to venture for the Preſervation of Chriſtianity, there is no Reaſon we ſhould be at ſo great a Loſs, merely for the ſake of deſtroying it.

A

PROJECT

FOR THE

Advancement of RELIGION,

AND THE

Reformation of MANNERS.

By a Perſon of QUALITY.

Written in the Year 1709.

TO THE

Counteſs of BERKLEY.

MADAM,

MY Intention in prefixing your Ladyſhip's Name, is not after the common Form, to deſire your Protection of the following Papers; which I take to be a very unreaſonable Requeſt; ſince by being inſcribed

ſcribed to your Ladyſhip, tho' without your Knowledge, and from a concealed Hand, you cannot recommend them without ſome Suſpicion of Partiality. My real Deſign is, I confeſs, the very ſame I have often deteſted in moſt Dedications; that of publiſhing your Praiſes to the World. Not upon the Subject of your Noble Birth, for I know others as Noble; or of the Greatneſs of your Fortune, for I know others far greater; or of that beautiful Race (the Images of their Parents) which calls you Mother: For even this may perhaps have been equall'd in ſome other Age or Country. Beſides, none of theſe Advantages do derive any Accompliſhments to the Owners, but ſerve at beſt only to adorn what they really poſſeſs. What I intend, is, your Piety, Truth, good Senſe and good Nature, Affability, and Charity; wherein I wiſh your Ladyſhip had many Equals, or any Superiors; and I wiſh I could ſay I knew them too, for then your Ladyſhip might have had a Chance to eſcape this Addreſs. In the mean time, I think it highly neceſſary, for the Intereſt of Virtue and Religion, that the whole Kingdom ſhould be informed in ſome Parts of your Character: For Inſtance, that the eaſieſt and politeſt Converſation, join'd with the trueſt Piety, may be obſerv'd in your Ladyſhip in as great Perfection as they were ever ſeen apart in any other Perſons. That by your Prudence and Management under ſeveral Diſadvantages, you have preſerved the Luſtre of that moſt noble Family, into which you are grafted, and which the unmeaſurable Profuſion

of Anceſtors for many Generations had too much eclipſed. Then, how happily you perform every Office of Life, to which Providence hath called you: In the Education of thoſe two incomparable Daughters, whoſe Conduct is ſo univerſally admir'd; in every Duty of a prudent, complying, affectionate Wife; in that Care which deſcends to the meaneſt of your Domeſticks; and laſtly, in that endleſs Bounty to the Poor, and Diſcretion where to diſtribute it. I inſiſt on my Opinion, that it is of Importance for the Publick to know this and a great deal more of your Ladyſhip; yet whoever goes about to inform them, ſhall, inſtead of finding Credit, perhaps, be cenſured for a Flatterer. To avoid ſo uſual a Reproach, I declare this to be no Dedication, but properly an Introduction to a Propoſal for the Advancement of Religion and Morals, by tracing, however imperfectly, ſome few Lineaments in the Character of a Lady, who hath ſpent all her Life in the Practice and Promotion of both.

AMONG all the Schemes offered to the Publick in this projecting Age, I have obſerved, with ſome Diſpleaſure, that there have never been any for the Improvement of Religion and Morals: Which, beſides the Piety of the Deſign, from the Conſequences of ſuch a Reformation in a future Life, would be the beſt natural Means for advancing the publick Felicity of the State, as well as the preſent Happineſs

pineſs of every Individual. For, as much as Faith and Morality are declined among us, I am altogether confident, they might in a ſhort time, and with no very great trouble, be raiſed to as high a Perfection as Numbers are capable of receiving. Indeed, the Method is ſo eaſy and obvious, and ſome preſent Opportunities ſo good, that in order to have this Project reduced to Practice, there ſeems to want nothing more than to put thoſe in mind, who by their Honour, Duty, and Intereſt, are chiefly concerned.

BUT becauſe it is idle to propoſe Remedies before we are aſſur'd of the Diſeaſe, or to be in Pain, till we are convinced of the Danger; I ſhall firſt ſhew in general, that the Nation is extremely corrupted in Religion and Morals; and then I will offer a ſhort Scheme for the Reformation of both.

AS to the firſt; I know it is reckoned but a Form of Speech when Divines complain of the Wickedneſs of the Age: However, I believe, upon a fair Compariſon with other Times and Countries, it would be found an undoubted Truth.

FOR firſt, To deliver nothing but plain Matter of Fact without Exaggeration or Satyr, I ſuppoſe it will be granted, that hardly one in a hundred among our People of Quality or Gentry, appears to act by any Principle of Religion; That great Numbers of them do entirely diſcard

it, and are ready to own their Disbelief of all Revelation in ordinary Discourse. Nor is the Case much better among the Vulgar, especially in great Towns, where the Prophaneness and Ignorance of Handicraftsmen, small Traders, Servants, and the like, are to a Degree very hard to be imagined greater. Then, it is observed abroad, that no Race of Mortals hath so little Sense of Religion as the *English* Soldiers; to confirm which, I have been often told by great Officers in the Army, that in the whole Compass of their Acquaintance, they could not recollect three of their Profession, who seem'd to regard or believe one Syllable of the Gospel: And the same at least may be affirmed of the Fleet. The Consequences of all which, upon the Actions of Men, are equally manifest. They never go about, as in former Times, to hide or palliate their Vices, but expose them freely to View like any other common Occurrences of Life, without the least Reproach from the World or themselves. For instance, any Man will tell you, he intends to be drunk this Evening, or was so last Night, with as little Ceremony or Scruple, as he would tell you the Time of the Day. He will let you know he is going to a Whore, or that he has got a Clap, with as much Indifferency as he would a Piece of publick News. He will swear, curse, or blaspheme, without the least Passion or Provocation. And though all Regard for Reputation is not quite laid aside in the other Sex, 'tis however at so low an Ebb, that very few among them seem to think Virtue and Conduct of ab-

ſolute Neceſſity for preſerving it. If this be not ſo, how comes it to paſs, that Women of tainted Reputations find the ſame Countenance and Reception in all publick Places, with thoſe of the niceſt Virtue, who pay, and receive Viſits from them without any manner of Scruple; which Proceeding, as it is not very old among us, ſo I take it to be of moſt pernicious Conſequence: It looks like a ſort of compounding between Virtue and Vice, as if a Woman were allowed to be vicious, provided ſhe be not profligate; as if there were a certain Point where Gallantry ends, and Infamy begins; or that a hundred criminal Amours were not as parconable as half a Score.

BESIDE thoſe Corruptions already mentioned, it would be endleſs to enumerate ſuch as ariſe from the Exceſs of Play or Gaming: The Cheats, the Quarrels, the Oaths, and Blaſphemies, among the Men; among the Women, the Neglect of Houſhold Affairs, the unlimited Freedoms, the undecent Paſſion; and laſtly, the known Inlet to all Lewdneſs, when after an ill Run, the *Perſon* muſt anſwer the Defects of the *Purſe:* The Rule on ſuch Occaſions holding true in Play, as it does in Law; *Quod non habet in Crumena, luat in Corpore.*

BUT all theſe are but Trifles in Compariſon, if we ſtep into other Scenes, and conſider the Fraud and Cozenage of Trading Men and Shop-Keepers; that inſatiable Gulph of Injuſtice and Oppreſ-

Oppreſſion, the *Law*. The open Traffick for all Civil and Military Employments (I wiſh it reſted there) without the leaſt Regard to Merit or Qualifications: The corrupt Management of Men in Office; the many deteſtable Abuſes in chuſing thoſe who repreſent the People, with the Management of Intereſts and Factions among the Repreſentatives: To which I muſt be bold to add, the Ignorance of ſome of the lower Clergy; the mean ſervile Temper of others; the pert pragmatical Demeanour of ſeveral young Stagers in Divinity, upon their firſt producing themſelves into the World; with many other Circumſtances needleſs, or rather invidious to mention; which falling in with the Corruptions already related, have, however unjuſtly, almoſt render'd the whole Order contemptible.

THIS is a ſhort View of the general Depravities among us, without entring into Particulars, which would be an endleſs Labour. Now, as univerſal and deep-rooted as theſe appear to be, I am utterly deceived, if an effectual Remedy might not be applied to moſt of them; neither am I at preſent upon a wild ſpeculative Project, but ſuch a one as may be eaſily put in Execution.

FOR, while the Prerogative of giving all Employments continues in the Crown, either immediately, or by Subordination, it is in the Power of the *Prince* to make Piety and Virtue become the Faſhion of the Age, if at the ſame time he

would make them neceſſary Qualifications for Favour and Preferment.

It is clear from preſent Experience, that the bare Example of the beſt Prince, will not have any mighty Influence where the Age is very corrupt. For, when was there ever a better Prince on the Throne than the preſent Queen? I do not talk of her Talent for Government, her Love of the People, or any other Qualities that are purely regal; but her Piety, Charity, Temperance, Conjugal Love, and whatever other Virtues do beſt adorn a private Life; wherein, without Queſtion or Flattery, ſhe hath no Superior: Yet neither will it be Satyr or peeviſh Invective to affirm, that Infidelity and Vice are not much diminiſhed ſince her coming to the Crown, nor will, in probability, till ſome more effectual Remedy be provided.

Thus human Nature ſeems to lie under this Diſadvantage, that the Example alone of a vicious Prince will in time corrupt an Age; but that of a good one will not be ſufficient to reform it, without further Endeavours. Princes muſt therefore ſupply this Defect by a vigorous Exerciſe of that Authority, which the Law has left them, by making it every Man's Intereſt and Honour to cultivate Religion and Virtue, by rendering Vice a Diſgrace, and the certain Ruin to Preferment or Pretenſions: All which they ſhould firſt attempt in their own Courts and Families. For inſtance, might not the Queen's Domeſticks

of

of the middle and lower ſort, be obliged, upon Penalty of Suſpenſion or Loſs of their Employments, to a conſtant weekly Attendance on the Service of the Church; to a decent Behaviour in it; to receive the Sacrament four Times in the Year; to avoid Swearing and irreligious prophane Diſcourſes; and to the appearance at leaſt, of Temperance and Chaſtity? Might not the Care of all this be committed to the ſtrict Inſpection of proper Officers? Might not thoſe of higher Rank and nearer Acceſs to Her Majeſty, receive her own Commands to the ſame purpoſe, and be countenanced or diſfavoured according as they obey? Might not the Queen lay her Injunctions on the Biſhops, and other great Men of undoubted Piety, to make diligent Enquiry, and give her notice, if any Perſon about her ſhould happen to be of Libertine Principles or Morals? Might not all thoſe who enter upon any Office in her Majeſty's Family, be obliged to take an Oath parallel with that againſt Simony, which is adminiſtred to the Clergy? 'Tis not to be doubted, but that if theſe or the like Proceedings were duly obſerved, Morality and Religion would ſoon become faſhionable Court Virtues; and be taken up as the only Methods to get or keep Employments there; which alone would have mighty Influence upon many of the Nobility and principal Gentry.

BUT if the like Methods were purſued as far as poſſible, with regard to thoſe who are in the great Employments of State, it is hard to conceive

ceive how general a Reformation it might in time produce among us. For if Piety and Virtue were once reckoned Qualifications neceſſary for Preferment, every Man thus endowed, when put into great Stations, would readily imitate the Queen's Example in the Diſtribution of all Offices in his Diſpoſal; eſpecially if any apparent Tranſgreſſion through Favour or Partiality, would be imputed to him for a Miſdemeanor, by which he muſt certainly forfeit his Favour and Station: And there being ſuch great Numbers in Employment, ſcatter'd through every Town and County in this Kingdom, if all theſe were exemplary in the Conduct of their Lives, Things would ſoon take a new Face, and Religion receive a mighty Encouragement: nor would the Publick Weal be leſs advanced; ſince, of nine Offices in ten that are ill executed, the Defect is not in Capacity or Underſtanding, but in common Honeſty. I know no Employment for which Piety diſqualifies any Man; and if it did, I doubt, the Objection would not be very ſeaſonably offered at preſent: Becauſe, it is perhaps too juſt a Reflection, that in the Diſpoſal of Places, the Queſtion whether a Perſon be *fit* for what he is recommended, is very often the laſt that is thought on or regarded.

I HAVE often imagined, that ſomething parallel to the Office of Cenſors anciently in *Rome*, would be of mighty Uſe among us, and could be eaſily limited from running into any Exorbitances. The *Romans* underſtood Liberty at leaſt as

as well as we, were as jealous of it, and upon every Occaſion as bold Aſſertors. Yet I do not remember to have read any great Complaints of the Abuſes in that Office among them; but many admirable Effects of it are left upon Record. There are ſeveral pernicious Vices frequent and notorious among us, that eſcape or elude the Puniſhment of any Law we have yet invented, or have had no Law at all againſt them; ſuch as Atheiſm, Drunkenneſs, Fraud, Avarice, and ſeveral others; which by this Inſtitution, wiſely regulated, might be much reformed. Suppoſe, for inſtance, that Itinerary Commiſſioners were appointed to inſpect every where throughout the Kingdom into the Conduct (at leaſt) of Men in Office, with reſpect to their Morals and Religion, as well as their Abilities; to receive the Complaints and Informations that ſhould be offered againſt them, and make their Report here upon Oath, to the Court or the Miniſtry, who ſhould reward or puniſh accordingly. I avoid entring into the Particulars of this or any other Scheme, which coming from a private Hand, might be liable to many Defects, but would ſoon be digeſted by the Wiſdom of the Nation: And ſurely, ſix thouſand Pounds a Year would not be ill laid out among as many Commiſſioners duly qualified, who in three Diviſions ſhould be perſonally obliged to take their yearly Circuits for that Purpoſe.

BUT this is beſide my preſent Deſign, which was only to ſhew what Degree of Reformation is

is in the Power of the Queen, without the Interpoſition of the Legiſlature, and which her Majeſty is, without queſtion, obliged in Conſcience to endeavour by her Authority, as much as ſhe does by her Practice.

IT will be eaſily granted, that the Example of this great Town hath a mighty Influence over the whole Kingdom; and it is as manifeſt, that the Town is equally influenced by the Court and the Miniſtry, and thoſe who by their Employments, or their Hopes, depend upon them. Now, if under ſo excellent a Princeſs as the preſent Queen, we would ſuppoſe a Family ſtrictly regulated as I have above propoſed; a Miniſtry, where every ſingle Perſon was of diſtinguiſhed Piety; if we ſhould ſuppoſe all great Offices of State and Law filled after the ſame manner, and with ſuch as were equally diligent in chuſing Perſons, who in their ſeveral Subordinations would be obliged to follow the Examples of their Superiors, under the Penalty of Loſs of Favour and Place; will not every body grant, that the Empire of Vice and Irreligion would be ſoon deſtroyed in this great Metropolis, and receive a terrible Blow through the whole Iſland, which hath ſo great an Intercourſe with it, and ſo much affects to follow its Faſhions?

FOR, if Religion were once underſtood to be the neceſſary Step to Favour and Preferment, can it be imagined that any Man would openly offend againſt it, who had the leaſt Regard for his

his Reputation or his Fortune? There is no Quality ſo contrary to any Nature, which Men cannot affect, and put on upon occaſion, in order to ſerve an Intereſt, or gratify a prevailing Paſſion. The proudeſt Man will perſonate Humility, the moroſeſt learn to flatter, the lazieſt will be ſedulous and active, where he is in purſuit of what he has much at heart: How ready therefore would moſt Men be to ſtep into the Paths of Virtue and Piety, if they infallibly led to Favour and Fortune?

If Swearing and Prophaneneſs, ſcandalous and avowed Lewdneſs, exceſſive Gaming and Intemperance, were a little diſcountenanced in the Army, I cannot readily ſee what ill Conſequences could be apprehended If Gentlemen of that Profeſſion were at leaſt obliged to ſome external Decorum in their Conduct, or even if a profligate Life and Character were not a means of Advancement, and the Appearance of Piety a moſt infallible Hindrance, it is impoſſible the Corruptions there ſhould be ſo univerſal and exorbitant. I have been aſſured by ſeveral great Officers, that no Troops abroad are ſo ill diſciplined as the *Engliſh*; which cannot well be otherwiſe, while the common Soldiers have perpetually before their Eyes the vicious Example of their Leaders; and it is hardly poſſible for thoſe to commit any Crime, whereof theſe are not infinitely more guilty, and with leſs Temptation.

It is commonly charged upon the Gentlemen of the Army, that the beaſtly Vice of drinking to Exceſs hath been lately from their Example reſtored among us; which for ſome Years before, was almoſt dropt in *England*. But, whoever the Introducers were, they have ſucceeded to a Miracle; many of the young Nobility and Gentry are already become great Proficients, and are under no manner of Concern to hide their Talent, but are got beyond all Senſe of Shame, or Fear of Reproach.

This might ſoon be remedied, if the Queen would think fit to declare, that no young Perſon of Quality whatſoever, who was notoriouſly addicted to that or any other Vice, ſhould be capable of her Favour, or even admitted into her Preſence; with poſitive Command to her Miniſters, and others in great Office, to treat them in the ſame manner; after which, all Men who had any Regard for their Reputation, or any Proſpect of Preferment, would avoid their Commerce. This would quickly make Vice ſo ſcandalous, that thoſe who could not ſubdue, would at leaſt endeavour to diſguiſe it.

By the like Methods, a ſtop might be put to that ruinous Practice of deep Gaming; and the Reaſon why it prevails ſo much, is becauſe a Treatment *directly oppoſite* in every Point is made uſe of to promote it; by which means the Laws made againſt this Abuſe are wholly eluded.

It

It cannot be denied that the Want of ſtrict Diſcipline in the Univerſities hath been of pernicious Conſequence to the Youth of this Nation, who are there almoſt left entirely to their own Management, eſpecially thoſe among them of better Quality and Fortune; who becauſe they are not under a Neceſſity of making Learning their Maintenance, are eaſily allowed to paſs their Time and take their Degrees with little or no Improvement: than which there cannot well be a greater Abſurdity. For if no Advancement of Knowledge can be had from thoſe Places, the Time there ſpent is at beſt utterly loſt, becauſe every ornamental Part of Education is better taught elſewhere: And as for keeping Youths out of Harm's way, I doubt, where ſo many of them are got together, at full Liberty of doing what they pleaſe, it will not anſwer the End. But, whatever Abuſes, Corruptions, or Deviations from Statutes have crept into the Univerſities, through Neglect, or Length of Time, they might in a great Degree be reformed by ſtrict Injunctions from Court (upon each particular) to the Viſitors and Heads of Houſes; beſides the peculiar Authority the Queen may have in ſeveral Colleges, whereof her Predeceſſors were the Founders. And among other Regulations, it would be very convenient to prevent the Exceſs of Drink, with that ſcurvy Cuſtom among the Lads, and Parent of the former Vice, the taking of Tobacco, where it is not abſolutely neceſſary in Point of Health.

From

FROM the Universities, the young Nobility, and others of great Fortunes, are sent for early up to Town, for fear of contracting any Airs of Pedantry by a College Education. Many of the younger Gentry retire to the Inns of Court, where they are wholly left to their own Discretion. And the Consequence of this Remisness in Education appears by observing, that nine in ten of those who rise in the Church or the Court, the Law or the Army, are younger Brothers, or new Men, whose narrow Fortunes have forced them upon Industry and Application.

AS for the Inns of Court, unless we suppose them to be much degenerated, they must needs be the worst instituted Seminaries in any Christian Country; but whether they may be corrected without Interposition of the Legislature, I have not Skill enough to determine. However, it is certain that all wise Nations have agreed in the Necessity of a strict Education, which consisted, among other Things, in the Observance of moral Duties, especially Justice, Temperance, and Chastity, as well as the Knowledge of Arts, and bodily Exercises: But all these, among us, are laughed out of doors.

WITHOUT the least Intention to offend the Clergy, I cannot but think, that through a mistaken Notion and Practice, they prevent themselves from doing much Service, which otherwise might lie in their Power, to Religion and Virtue:

Virtue: I mean, by affecting ſo much to converſe with each other, and caring ſo little to mingle with the Laity. They have their particular Clubs, and particular Coffee-houſes, where they generally appear in Cluſters: A ſingle Divine dares hardly ſhew his Perſon among Numbers of fine Gentlemen; or if he happens to fall into ſuch Company, he is ſilent and ſuſpicious, in continual Apprehenſion that ſome pert Man of Pleaſure ſhould break an unmannerly Jeſt, and make him ridiculous. Now I take this Behaviour of the Clergy to be juſt as reaſonable, as if the Phyſicians ſhould agree to ſpend their Time in viſiting one another, or their ſeveral Apothecaries, and leave their Patients to ſhift for themſelves. In my humble Opinion, the Clergyman's Buſineſs lies entirely among the Laity; neither is there, perhaps, a more effectual Way to forward the Salvation of Mens Souls, than for ſpiritual Perſons to make themſelves as agreeable as they can in the Converſations of the World; for which a learned Education gives them great Advantage, if they would pleaſe to improve and apply it. It ſo happens, that the *Men of Pleaſure*, who never go to Church, nor amuſe themſelves to read Books of Devotion, form their Ideas of the Clergy from a few poor Strolers they often obſerve in the Streets, or ſneaking out of ſome Perſon of Quality's Houſe, where they are hired by the Lady at ten Shillings a Month; while thoſe of better Figure and Parts do ſeldom appear, to correct theſe Notions. And let ſome Reaſoners think what they pleaſe, 'tis certain,

certain, that Men muſt be brought to eſteem and love the Clergy, before they can be perſuaded to be in love with Religion. No Man values the beſt Medicine, if adminiſter'd by a Phyſician whoſe Perſon he hates or deſpiſes. If the Clergy were as forward to appear in all Companies, as other Gentlemen, and would a little ſtudy the Arts of Converſation, to make themſelves agreeable, they might be welcome at every Party, where there was the leaſt Regard for Politeneſs or good Senſe; and conſequently prevent a thouſand vicious or prophane Diſcourſes, as well as Actions; neither would Men of Underſtanding complain, that a Clergyman was a Conſtraint upon the Company, becauſe they could not ſpeak Blaſphemy or obſcene Jeſts before him. While the People are ſo jealous of the Clergy's Ambition, as to abhor all Thoughts of the Return of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline among them, I do not ſee any other Method left for Men of that Function to take, in order to reform the World, than by uſing all honeſt Arts to make themſelves acceptable to the Laity. This, no doubt, is Part of that Wiſdom of the Serpent, which the Author of Chriſtianity directs, and is the very Method uſed by St. *Paul*, who *became all Things to all Men, to the Jews a Jew, and a Greek to the Greeks.*

How to remedy theſe Inconveniences, may be a Matter of ſome Difficulty, ſince the Clergy ſeem to be of an opinion, that this Humour of ſequeſtring themſelves is a Part of their Duty;

nay, as I remember, they have been told ſo by ſome of their Biſhops in their paſtoral Letters, particularly by *one* among them of great Merit and Diſtinction, who yet, in his own Practice, hath all his Life-time taken a Courſe directly contrary. But I am deceived, if an aukward Shame and Fear of ill Uſage from the Laity, have not a greater Share in the miſtaken Conduct, than their own Inclinations: However, if the outward Profeſſion of Religion and Virtue were once in Practice and Countenance at Court, as well as among all Men in Office, or who have any Hopes or Dependence for Preferment, a good Treatment of the Clergy would be the neceſſary Conſequence of ſuch a Reformation; and they would ſoon be wiſe enough to ſee their own Duty and Intereſt in qualifying themſelves for Lay-Converſation, when once they were out of Fear of being choaked by Ribaldry or Prophaneneſs.

THERE is one further Circumſtance upon this Occaſion, which I know not whether it will be very Orthodox to mention: The Clergy are the only Sett of Men among us, who conſtantly wear a diſtinct Habit from others: The Conſequence of which (not in Reaſon but in Fact) is this, that as long as any ſcandalous Perſons appear in that Dreſs, it will continue in ſome degree a general Mark of Contempt. Whoever happens to ſee a *Scoundrel in a Gown*, reeling home at Midnight (a Sight neither *frequent* nor *miraculous*) is apt to entertain an ill Idea of the

the whole Order, and at the ſame time to be extremely comforted in his own Vices. Some Remedy might be put to this, if thoſe ſtraggling Gentlemen who come up to Town to *ſeek their Fortunes*, were fairly diſmiſſed to the *Weſt-Indies*, where there is Work enough, and where ſome better Proviſion ſhould be made for them, than I doubt there is at preſent. Or, what if no Perſon were allowed to wear the Habit who had not ſome Preferment in the Church, or at leaſt ſome temporal Fortune ſufficient to keep him out of Contempt? Though, in my Opinion, it were infinitely better, if all the Clergy (except the Biſhops) were permitted to appear like other Men of the graver Sort, unleſs at thoſe Seaſons when they are doing the Buſineſs of their Function.

THERE is one Abuſe in this Town which wonderfully contributes to the Promotion of Vice; that ſuch Men are often put into the Commiſſion of the Peace, whoſe Intereſt it is, that Virtue ſhould be utterly baniſhed from among us; who maintain, or at leaſt enrich themſelves by encouraging the groſſeſt Immoralities; to whom all the *Bawds* of the *Ward* pay Contribution for Shelter and Protection from the Laws. Thus theſe worthy Magiſtrates, inſtead of leſſening Enormities, are the Occaſion of juſt twice as much Debauchery as there would be without them. For thoſe infamous Women are forced upon doubling their Work and Induſtry, to anſwer double Charges, of paying the Juſtice, and ſup-

porting themſelves. Like Thieves who eſcape the Gallows, and are let out to ſteal in order to diſcharge the Goaler's Fees.

It is not to be queſtion'd, but the Queen and Miniſtry might eaſily redreſs this abominable Grievance; by enlarging the Number of Juſtices of the Peace, by endeavouring to chuſe Men of virtuous Principles, by admitting none who have not conſiderable Fortunes; perhaps, by receiving into the Number ſome of the moſt eminent Clergy: Then, by forcing all of them upon ſevere Penalties, to act when there is Occaſion, and not permitting any who are offered, to refuſe the Commiſſion; but in theſe two laſt Caſes, which are very material, I doubt there will be need of the Legiſlature.

The Reformation of the Stage is entirely in the Power of the Queen; and in the Conſequences it hath upon the Minds of younger People, does very well deſerve the ſtricteſt Care. Beſide the undecent and prophane Paſſages; beſide the perpetual turning into Ridicule the very Function of the Prieſthood, with other Irregularities in moſt modern Comedies, which have been often objected to them; it is worth obſerving the diſtributive Juſtice of the Authors, which is conſtantly applied to the Puniſhment of Virtue, and the Reward of Vice; directly oppoſite to the Rules of their beſt Criticks, as well as to the Practice of Dramatick Poets in all other Ages and Countries. For example, a Country Squire, who is repre-

repreſented with no other Vice but that of being a Clown, and having the provincial Accent upon his Tongue, which is neither a Fault, nor in his Power to remedy; muſt be condemn'd to marry a caſt Wench, or a crack'd Chambermaid. On the other ſide, a Rakehell of the Town, whoſe Character is ſet off with no other Accompliſhments but exceſſive Prodigality, Prophaneneſs, Intemperance, and Luſt, is rewarded with the Lady of great Fortune, to repair his own, which his Vices had almoſt ruined. And, as in a Tragedy, the Hero is repreſented to have obtained many Victories, in order to raiſe his Character in the Minds of the Spectators; ſo the Hero of a Comedy is repreſented to have been victorious in all his Intrigues for the ſame Reaſon. I do not remember that our *Engliſh* Poets ever ſuffer'd a criminal Amour to ſucceed upon the Stage, till the Reign of King *Charles* the Second. Ever ſince that time, the Alderman is made a Cuckold, the deluded Virgin is debauched, and Adultery and Fornication are ſuppoſed to be committed behind the Scenes, as part of the Action. Theſe and many more Corruptions of the Theatre, peculiar to our Age and Nation, need continue no longer than while the Court is content to connive at or neglect them. Surely a Penſion would not be ill employ'd on ſome Men of Wit, Learning, and Virtue, who might have Power to ſtrike out every offenſive or unbecoming Paſſage from Plays already written, as well as thoſe that may be offered to the Stage for the future. By which and other wiſe Regu-

lations, the Theatre might become a very innocent and uſeful Diverſion, inſtead of being a Scandal and Reproach to our Religion and Country.

THE Propoſals I have hitherto made for the Advancement of Religion and Morality, are ſuch as come within reach of the Adminiſtration; ſuch as a pious active Prince, with a ſteddy Reſolution, might ſoon bring to Effect. Neither am I aware of any Objections to be raiſed againſt what I have advanced; unleſs it ſhould be thought, that the making Religion a neceſſary Step to Intereſt and Favour, might increaſe Hypocriſy among us: And I readily believe it would. But if One in Twenty ſhould be brought over to true Piety by this or the like Methods, and the other Nineteen be only Hypocrites, the Advantage would ſtill be great. Beſides, Hypocriſy is much more eligible than open Infidelity and Vice; it wears the Livery of Religion, it acknowledges her Authority, and is cautious of giving a Scandal. Nay, a long continued Diſguiſe is too great a Conſtraint upon human Nature, eſpecially an *Engliſh* Diſpoſition; Men would leave off their Vices out of mere Wearineſs, rather than undergo the Toil and Hazard, and perhaps Expence, of practiſing them perpetually in private. And I believe it is often with Religion as with Love: which by much diſſembling, at laſt grows real.

ALL other Projects to this great End have proved hitherto ineffectual. Laws againſt Immorality

rality have not been executed; and Proclamations occaſionally iſſued out to inforce them, are wholly unregarded as Things of Form. Religious Societies, though begun with excellent Intention, and by Perſons of true Piety, are ſaid, I know not whether truly or no, to have dwindled into factious Clubs, and grown a Trade to enrich little knaviſh Informers of the meaneſt Rank, ſuch as common Conſtables, and broken Shopkeepers.

AND that ſome effectual Attempt ſhould be made towards ſuch a Reformation, is, perhaps, more neceſſary than People commonly apprehend; becauſe the Ruin of a State is generally preceded by an univerſal Degeneracy of Manners, and Contempt of Religion; which is entirely our Caſe at preſent.

Diis te minorem quod regis, imperas. Hor.

NEITHER is this a Matter to be deferred till a more convenient Time of Peace and Leiſure: Becauſe a Reformation in Mens Faith and Morals, is the beſt natural, as well as religious Means to bring the War to a good Concluſion. For if Men in Truſt performed their Duty for Conſcience ſake, Affairs would not ſuffer thro' Fraud, Falſhood, and Neglect, as they now perpetually do. And if they believed a God and his Providence, and acted accordingly, they might reaſonably hope for his Divine Aſſiſtance in ſo juſt a Cauſe as ours.

NOR could the Majeſty of the *Engliſh* Crown appear, upon any Occaſion, in a greater Luſtre, either to Foreigners or Subjects, than by an Adminiſtration, which producing ſuch great Effects, would diſcover ſo much Power. And Power being the natural Appetite of Princes, a limited Monarch cannot ſo well gratify it in any thing as a ſtrict Execution of the Laws.

BESIDES; all Parties would be obliged to cloſe with ſo good a Work as this, for their own Reputation: Neither is any Expedient more likely to unite them. For, the moſt violent Party-men I have ever obſerved, are ſuch as in the Conduct of their Lives have diſcovered leaſt Senſe of Religion or Morality; and when all ſuch are laid aſide, at leaſt thoſe among them as ſhall be found incorrigible, it will be a Matter perhaps of no great Difficulty to reconcile the reſt.

THE many Corruptions at preſent in every Branch of Buſineſs, are almoſt inconceivable. I have heard it computed by skilful Perſons, that of Six Millions, raiſed every Year for the Service of the Publick, one Third, at leaſt, is ſunk and intercepted through the ſeveral Claſſes and Subordinations of artful Men in Office, before the Remainder is applied to the proper Uſe. This is an accidental ill Effect of our Freedom. And while ſuch Men are in Truſt, who have no Check from within, nor any Views but towards their Intereſt, there is no other Fence againſt

gainſt them but the Certainty of being hanged upon the firſt Diſcovery, by the arbitrary Will of an unlimited Monarch, or his *Vizier*. Among us the only Danger to be apprehended, is the Loſs of an Employment; and that Danger is to be eluded a thouſand Ways. Beſides, when Fraud is great, it furniſhes Weapons to defend itſelf: And at worſt, if the Crimes be ſo flagrant, that a Man is laid aſide out of perfect Shame, (which rarely happens) he retires loaded with the Spoils of the Nation; *Et fruitur Diis iratis.* I could name a Commiſſion, where ſeveral Perſons, out of a Salary of five hundred Pounds, with other viſible Revenues, have always lived at the Rate of two Thouſand, and laid out forty or fifty Thouſand upon Purchaſes of Land or Annuities. An Hundred other Inſtances of the ſame Kind might eaſily be produced. What Remedy therefore can be found againſt ſuch Grievances in a Conſtitution like ours, but to bring Religion into Countenance, and encourage thoſe who from the Hope of future Reward, and Dread of future Puniſhment, will be moved to act with Juſtice and Integrity?

THIS is not to be accompliſhed any other Way, but by introducing Religion as much as poſſible to be the Turn and Faſhion of the Age; which only lies in the Power of the Adminiſtration, the Prince with utmoſt Strictneſs regulating the Court, the Miniſtry, and other Perſons in great Employment; and theſe by their Example and Authority reforming all who have Dependence on them.

It is certain that a Reformation ſucceſsfully carried on in this great Town, would in Time ſpread itſelf over the whole Kingdom; ſince moſt of the conſiderable Youth paſs here that Seaſon of their Lives wherein ſtrongeſt Impreſſions are made, in order to improve their Education, or advance their Fortune; and thoſe among them who return into their ſeveral Countries, are ſure to be followed and imitated as the greateſt Patterns of Wit and good Breeding.

And if Things were once in this Train, that is, if Virtue and Religion were eſtabliſhed as the neceſſary Titles to Reputation and Preferment, and if Vice and Infidelity were not only loaden with Infamy, but made the infallible Ruin of all Mens Pretenſions; our Duty, by becoming our Intereſt, would take Root in our Natures, and mix with the very Genius of our People; ſo that it would not be eaſy for the Example of one wicked Prince to bring us back to our former Corruptions.

I have confined myſelf (as it is before obſerved) to thoſe Methods for the Advancement of Piety, which are in the Power of a Prince limited like ours, by a ſtrict Execution of the Laws already in Force. And this is enough for a Project that comes without any Name or Recommendation: I doubt, a great deal more than will ſuddenly be reduced into Practice. Tho'

if any Diſpoſition ſhould appear towards ſo good a Work, it is certain, that the Aſſiſtance of the Legiſlative Power would be neceſſary to make it more compleat. I will inſtance only a few Particulars.

IN order to reform the Vices of this Town, which, as we have ſaid, hath ſo mighty an Influence on the whole Kingdom, it would be very inſtrumental, to have a Law made, that all Taverns or Ale-houſes ſhould be obliged to diſmiſs their Company by Twelve at Night, and ſhut up their Doors; and that no Woman ſhould be ſuffered to enter any Tavern or Ale-houſe upon any Pretence whatſoever. It is eaſy to conceive what a Number of ill Conſequences ſuch a Law would prevent; the Miſchiefs of Quarrels, and Lewdneſs, and Thefts, and Midnight Brawls, the Diſeaſes of Intemperance and Venery, and a thouſand other Evils needleſs to mention. Nor would it be amiſs if the Maſters of thoſe Publick-houſes were obliged, upon the ſevereſt Penalties, to give only a proportioned Quantity of Drink to every Company; and when he found his Gueſts diſordered with Exceſs, to refuſe them any more.

I BELIEVE there is hardly a Nation in *Chriſtendom* where all kind of Fraud is practiſed in ſo unmeaſurable a Degree as with us. The Lawyer, the Tradeſman, the Mechanick, have found ſo many Arts to deceive in their ſeveral Callings, that they far outgrow the common Pru-

dence of Mankind, which is in no ſort able to fence againſt them. Neither could the Legiſlature in any thing more conſult the Publick Good, than by providing ſome effectual Remedy againſt this Evil, which in ſeveral Caſes deſerves greater Puniſhment than many Crimes that are capital among us. The Vintner, who by mixing Poiſon with his Wines, deſtroys more Lives than any malignant Diſeaſe; the Lawyer, who perſuades you to a Purchaſe which he knows is mortgaged for more than the Worth, to the Ruin of you and your Family; the Goldſmith or Scrivener, who takes all your Fortune to diſpoſe of, when he has before-hand reſolved to break the following Day, do ſurely deſerve the Gallows much better than the Wretch who is carried there for ſtealing a Horſe.

It cannot eaſily be anſwer'd to God or Man, why a Law is not made for limiting the Preſs; at leaſt ſo far as to prevent the publiſhing of ſuch pernicious Books, as under Pretence of *Free-Thinking*, endeavour to overthrow thoſe Tenets in Religion, which have been held inviolable almoſt in all Ages by every Sect that pretend to be Chriſtian, and cannot therefore with any Colour of Reaſon be called *Points in Controverſy*, or *Matters of Speculation*, as ſome would pretend. The Doctrine of the *Trinity*, the *Divinity of Chriſt*, the *Immortality of the Soul*, and even the Truth of all Revelation, are daily exploded and denied in Books openly printed; tho' it is to be ſuppoſed, neither Party avow ſuch Principles,

Principles, or own the ſupporting of them to be any way neceſſary to their Service.

IT would be endleſs to ſet down every Corruption or Defect which requires a Remedy from the Legiſlative Power. Senates are like to have little Regard for any Propoſals that come from without Doors; though, under a due Senſe of my own Inabilities, I am fully convinced that the unbiaſs'd Thoughts of an honeſt and wiſe Man, employed on the Good of his Country, may be better digeſted than the Reſults of a Multitude, where Faction and Intereſt too often prevail, as a ſingle Guide may direct the Way better than five hundred who *have contrary Views*, or *look a-ſquint*, or *ſhut their Eyes*.

I SHALL therefore mention but one more Particular, which I think the Parliament ought to take under Conſideration; Whether it be not a Shame to our Country, and a Scandal to Chriſtianity, That in many Towns where there is a prodigious Increaſe in the Number of Houſes and Inhabitants, ſo little Care ſhould be taken for the building of Churches, that five Parts in ſix of the People are abſolutely hinder'd from hearing divine Service? Particularly here in *London*, where a ſingle Miniſter with one or two ſorry Curates, hath the Care ſometimes of above twenty thouſand Souls incumbent on him A Neglect of Religion ſo ignominious in my opinion, that it can hardly be equalled in any civilized Age or Country.

BUT,

BUT, to leave theſe airy Imaginations of introducing new Laws for the Amendment of Mankind, what I principally inſiſt on is a due Execution of the old, which lies wholly in the Crown, and in the Authority derived from thence: I therefore return to my former Aſſertion, That, if Stations of Power, Truſt, Profit, and Honour, were conſtantly made the Rewards of Virtue and Piety, ſuch an Adminiſtration muſt needs have a mighty Influence on the Faith and Morals of the whole Kingdom: And Men of great Abilities would *then* endeavour to excel in the Duties of a religious Life, in order to qualify themſelves for publick Service. I may poſſibly be wrong in in ſome of the Means I preſcribe towards this End; but that is no material Objection againſt the Deſign itſelf. Let thoſe who are at the Helm contrive it better, which perhaps they may eaſily do. Every body will agree that the Diſeaſe is manifeſt, as well as dangerous; that ſome Remedy is neceſſary, and that none yet applied hath been effectual; which is a ſufficient Excuſe for any Man who wiſhes well to his Country, to offer his Thoughts, when he can have no other End in View but the Publick Good. The preſent Queen is a Prince of as many and great Virtues as ever filled a Throne: How would it brighten her Character to the preſent and after Ages, if ſhe would exert her utmoſt Authority to inſtill ſome Share of thoſe Virtues into her People, which they are too degenerate to learn only from her Example? And, be it ſpoke with all

all the Veneration poſſible for ſo excellent a Sovereign, her beſt Endeavours in this weighty Affair, are a moſt important Part of her Duty as well as her Intereſt, and her Honour.

BUT it muſt be confeſſed, that as Things are now, every Man thinks he has laid in a ſufficient Stock of Merit, and may pretend to any Employment, provided he has been loud and frequent in declaring himſelf hearty for the Government. 'Tis true, he is a *Man of Pleaſure*, and a *Free-Thinker*, that is, in other Words, he is profligate in his Morals, and a Deſpiſer of Religion; but in Point of Party, he is one to be *confided* in; he is an Aſſertor of Liberty and Property; he rattles it out againſt *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, and *Prieſtcraft*, and *High Church*. 'Tis enough: He is a Perſon fully qualified for any Employment in the Court or the Navy, the Law or the Revenue, where he will be ſure to leave no Arts untried of Bribery, Fraud, Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, that he can practiſe with any Hope of Impunity. No wonder ſuch Men are true to a Government, where Liberty runs high, where Property, *however attained*, is ſo well ſecured, and where the Adminiſtration is at laſt ſo gentle: 'Tis impoſſible they could chuſe any other Conſtitution, without changing to their Loſs.

FIDELITY, to a preſent Eſtabliſhment, is indeed the principal Means to defend it from a foreign Enemy, but without other Qualifications will not prevent Corruptions from within, and

and States are oftner ruined by theſe than the other.

To conclude: Whether the Propoſals I have offer'd towards a Reformation be ſuch as are moſt prudent and convenient, may probably be a Queſtion; but it is none at all, whether ſome Reformation be abſolutely neceſſary; becauſe the Nature of Things is ſuch, that if Abuſes be not remedied, they will certainly increaſe, nor ever ſtop till they end in the Subverſion of a Commonwealth. As there muſt always of neceſſity be ſome Corruptions, ſo in a well-inſtituted State, the executive Power will be always contending againſt them, by *reducing Things* (as *Machiavel* ſpeaks) *to their firſt Principles*, never letting Abuſes grow inveterate, or multiply ſo far that it will be hard to find Remedies, and perhaps impoſſible to apply them. As he that would keep his Houſe in repair, muſt attend every little Breach or Flaw, and ſupply it immediately, elſe Time alone will bring all to ruin; how much more the common Accidents of Storms and Rain? He muſt live in perpetual Danger of his Houſe falling about his Ears; and will find it cheaper to throw it quite down, and build it again from the Ground, perhaps upon a new Foundation, or at leaſt in a new Form, which may neither be ſo ſafe nor ſo convenient as the Old.

A

LETTER

FROM A

MEMBER *of the Houſe of Commons in* Ireland, *to a* MEMBER *of the Houſe of Commons in* England, *concerning the* SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the Year 1708.

SIR,

I Received your Letter, wherein you tell me of the ſtrange Repreſentations made of us on your Side of the Water. The Inſtance you are pleaſed to mention is that of the Presbyterian *Miſſionary*, who, according to your Phraſe, hath

hath been lately *perſecuted* in *Droghedah* for his Religion: But it is eaſy to obſerve, how mighty induſtrious ſome People have been for three or four Years paſt, to hand about Stories of the Hardſhips, the Merits, the Number, and the Power of the *Preſbyterians* in *Ireland*, to raiſe formidable Ideas of the Dangers of *Popery* there, and to tranſmit all for *England*, improved by great Additions, and with ſpecial Care to have them inſerted with Comments in thoſe infamous weekly Papers that infeſt your Coffee-Houſes. So, when the Clauſe enacting a *Sacramental Teſt* was put in execution, it was given out in *England*, that half the Juſtices of Peace through this Kingdom had laid down their Commiſſions: Whereas, upon Examination, the whole Number was found to amount only to a dozen or thirteen, and thoſe generally of the loweſt Rate in Fortune and Underſtanding, and ſome of them ſuperannuated. So, when the Earl of *P———ke* was in *Ireland*, and the Parliament ſitting, a formal Story was very gravely carried to his Excellency by ſome zealous Members, of a Prieſt newly arrived from abroad to the North-Weſt Parts of *Ireland*, who had publickly preached to his People, to fall a murthering the Proteſtants; which, tho' invented to ſerve an End they were then upon, and are ſtill driving at, it was preſently handed over, and printed with ſhrewd Remarks by your worthy Scriblers. In like manner, the Account of that Perſon who was lately expelled our Univerſity for reflecting on the Memory of King *William*, what a Duſt

a Duſt it raiſed, and how foully it was related, is freſh enough in Memory. Neither would People be convinced 'till the Univerſity was at the Pains of publiſhing a *Latin* Paper to juſtify themſelves. And, to mention no more, this Story of the *Perſecution* at *Droghedah*, how it hath been ſpread and aggravated, what Conſequences drawn from it, and what Reproaches fixed on thoſe who have leaſt deſerved them, we are already informed. Now if the End of all this Proceeding were a Secret and Myſtery, I ſhould not undertake to give an Interpretation, but Care has been taken to give it ſufficient Explanation. Firſt, by Addreſſes artificially (if not illegally) procured, to ſhew the miſerable State of the *Diſſenters* in *Ireland*, by reaſon of the *Sacramental Teſt*, and to deſire the Queen's Interceſſion that it might be repealed. Then it is manifeſt that our S———r when he was laſt Year in *England*, ſollicited in Perſon ſeveral Members of both Houſes, to have it repealed by an Act there, though it be a Matter purely National, that cannot poſſibly interfere with the Trade and Intereſt of *England*, and though he himſelf appeared formerly the moſt zealous of all Men againſt the Injuſtice of binding a Nation by Laws to which they do not conſent. And laſtly, thoſe weekly Libellers, whenever they get a Tale by the end relating to *Ireland*, without ever troubling their Thoughts about the Truth, always end it with an Application againſt the *Sacramental Teſt*, and the abſolute Neceſſity there is of repealing it in both Kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a Weakneſs

neſs to ſay any thing of ſuch Trifles as are below a ſerious Man's Notice, much leſs would I diſparage the Underſtanding of any Party to think they would chuſe the vileſt and moſt ignorant among Mankind to employ them for the Aſſertors of a Cauſe; I ſhall only ſay, that the ſcandalous Liberty thoſe Wretches take would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with Opinions that *ſome Men* would be glad to advance. Beſides, how inſipid ſoever thoſe Papers are, they ſeem to be levelled to the Underſtandings of a great Number, they are grown a neceſſary Part in Coffee-houſe Furniture, and ſome time or other happen to be read by Cuſtomers of all Ranks for Curioſity or Amuſement, becauſe they lie always in the way. One of theſe Authors (the Fellow that was *Pillory'd*, I have forgot his Name) is indeed ſo grave, ſententious, dogmatical a Rogue, that there is no enduring him; the *Obſervator* is much the briſker of the two, and I think farther gone of late in Lies and Impudence than his *Preſbyterian* Brother. The Reaſon why I mention him, is to have an Occaſion of letting you know, that you have not dealt ſo gallantly with us, as we did with you in a parallel Caſe: Laſt Year, a Paper was brought here from *England*, called, *A Dialogue between the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *and Mr.* Higgens, which we ordered to be burnt by the Common Hangman, as it well deſerved, though we have no more to do with his Grace of *Canterbury* than you have with the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*; nor can you love and reverence your Prelate

Prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely ſuffer to be abuſed openly, and by Name, by that paultry Raſcal of an *Obſervator*; and lately upon an Affair wherein he had no Concern: I mean the Buſineſs of the *Miſſionary* of *Droghedah*, wherein our excellent *Primate* was engaged, and did nothing but according to Law and Diſcretion. But becauſe the Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin* hath been, upon ſeveral Occaſions, of late Years, miſrepreſented in *England*, I would willingly ſet you right in his Character. For his great Sufferings and eminent Services, he was by the late King promoted to the See of *Derry*. About the ſame Time he wrote a Book to juſtify the Revolution, wherein was an Account of King *James*'s Proceedings in *Ireland*, and the late Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* recommended it to the King as the moſt ſerviceable Treatiſe that could have been publiſhed at ſuch a Juncture. And as his Grace ſet out upon thoſe Principles, he has proceeded ſo ever ſince, as a loyal Subject to the Queen, entirely for the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line, and for ever excluding the *Pretender*; and tho' a firm Friend to the Church, yet with Indulgence towards Diſſenters, as appears from his Conduct at *Derry*, where he was ſettled for many Years among the moſt virulent Sect, yet upon his Removal to *Dublin*, they parted from him with Tears in their Eyes, and univerſal Acknowledgments of his Wiſdom and Goodneſs. For the reſt, it muſt be own'd, he does not buſy himſelf by entering deep into any Party, but rather ſpends his Time in Acts of Hoſpitality

Hoſpitality and Charity, in building of Churches, repairing his Palace, in introducing and preferring the worthieſt Perſons he can find, without other Regards: In ſhort, in the Practice of all Virtues that can become a publick or private Life. This and more, if poſſible, is due to ſo excellent a Perſon, who may be juſtly reckoned among the greateſt and moſt learned Prelates of his Age, however his Character may be defiled by ſuch mean and dirty Hands as thoſe of the *Obſervator* or ſuch as employ him.

I NOW come to anſwer the other Part of your Letter, and ſhall give you my Opinion freely about repealing the *Sacramental Teſt*; only whereas you deſire my Thoughts as a Friend, and not as I am a Member of Parliament, I muſt aſſure you they are exactly the ſame in both Capacities.

I MUST begin by telling you, we are generally ſurprized at your wonderful Kindneſs to us on this Occaſion, in being ſo very induſtrious to teach us to ſee our Intereſts in a Point where we are ſo unable to ſee it ourſelves. This hath given us ſome Suſpicion; and tho' in my own particular, I am hugely bent to believe, that whenever you concern yourſelves in our Affairs, it is certainly *for our Good*, yet I have the Misfortune to be ſomething ſingular in this Belief, and therefore I never attempt to juſtify it, but content myſelf to poſſeſs my own Opinion in private, for fear of encountering Men of more Wit or Words than I have to ſpare. WE

WE at this Diſtance, who ſee nothing of the Spring of Actions, are forced by meer Conjecture to aſſign two Reaſons for your deſiring us to repeal the *Sacramental Teſt*; one is, becauſe you are ſaid to imagine it will be one Step towards the like *good Work in England*. The other more immediate, that it will open a Way for rewarding *ſeveral Perſons* who have well deſerved upon a *great Occaſion*, but who are now unqualified thro' that Impediment.

I DO not frequently quote Poets, eſpecially *Engliſh*; but I remember there is in ſome of Mr. *Cowley*'s Love-Verſes, a Strain that I thought extraordinary at Fifteen, and have often ſince imagined it to be ſpoken by *Ireland*.

Forbid it Heaven my Life ſhould be
Weigh'd with her leaſt Conveniency.

IN ſhort, whatever Advantage you propoſe to your ſelves by repealing the *Sacramental Teſt*, ſpeak it out plainly, 'tis the beſt Argument you can uſe, for we value your Intereſt much more than our own; if your little Finger be ſore, and you think a Poultice made of our *Vitals* will give it any Eaſe, ſpeak the Word, and it ſhall be done: The Intereſt of our whole Kingdom is at any time ready to ſtrike to that of your pooreſt *Fiſhing Towns*; it is hard you will not accept our Services, unleſs we believe at the ſame time that you are only conſulting our Pro-

fit;

fit, and giving us Marks of your Love. If there be a Fire at ſome diſtance, and I immediately blow up my Houſe before there be Occaſion, becauſe you are a Man of Quality, and apprehend ſome Danger to a *Corner of your Stable*; yet why ſhould you require me to attend next Morning at your Levee, with my humble Thanks for the Favour you have done me?

IF we might be allowed to judge for our ſelves, we had abundance of Benefit by the *Sacramental Teſt*, and foreſee a Number of Miſchiefs would be the Conſequence of repealing it, and we conceive the Objections made againſt it by the *Diſſenters* are of no manner of force: They tell us of their Merits in the late War in *Ireland*, and how chearfully they engaged for the Safety of the Nation; that had they thought they had been fighting only other People's Quarrels, perhaps it might have cool'd their Zeal; and that for the future they ſhall ſit down quietly, and let us do our Work ourſelves; nay, that it is neceſſary they ſhould do ſo, ſince they cannot take up Arms under the Penalty of High-Treaſon.

NOW ſuppoſing them to have done their Duty, as I believe they did, and not to trouble them about the *Fly on the Wheel*, I thought *Liberty*, *Property*, and *Religion*, had been the three Subjects of the Quarrel; and have not all thoſe been amply ſecured to them? Had they at that time a *mental Reſervation* for *Power* and *Employments*? And muſt thoſe two Articles be added

henceforward in our National Quarrels? It is grown a mighty Conceit among ſome Men, to melt down the Phraſe of a *Church eſtabliſhed by Law*, into that of *the Religion of the Magiſtrate*; of which Appellation it is eaſier to find the Reaſon than the Senſe: If by the *Magiſtrate* they mean the *Prince*, the Expreſſion includes a Falſhood; for when King *James* was *Prince*, the eſtabliſhed Church was the ſame it is now. If by the ſame Word they mean the Legiſlature, we deſire no more. Be that as it will, we of this Kingdom believe the Church of *Ireland* to be the National Church, and the only one eſtabliſhed by Law, and are willing by the ſame Law to give a *Toleration* to Diſſenters; but if once we repeal our *Sacramental Teſt*, and grant a *Toleration*, or ſuſpend the Execution of the penal Laws, I do not ſee how we can be ſaid to have any eſtabliſhed Church remaining; or rather, why there will not be as many eſtabliſhed Churches, as there are Sects of Diſſenters. No, ſay they, yours will be the National Church, becauſe your Biſhops and Clergy are maintain'd by the Publick: But, *That* I ſuppoſe will be of no long Duration, and it would be very unjuſt it ſhould, becauſe, to ſpeak in *Tindall*'s Phraſe, it is not reaſonable that Revenues ſhould be annexed to one Opinion more than another, when all are equally lawful; and 'tis that Author's Maxim, That no Free-born Subject ought to pay for maintaining Speculations he does not believe. *But why ſhould any Man, upon account of Opinions he cannot help, be deprived the*

Opportunity of ſerving his Queen and Country! Their Zeal is commendable, and when Employments go a begging for want of Hands, they ſhall be ſure to have the Refuſal, only upon condition they will not pretend to them upon Maxims that equally include *Atheiſts*, *Turks*, *Jews*, *Infidels*, and *Hereticks*; or, which is ſtill more dangerous, even *Papiſts* themſelves: The former you allow, the other you deny; becauſe theſe laſt own a foreign Power, and therefore muſt be ſhut out. But there is no great Weight in this; for their Religion can ſuit with Free States, with limited or abſolute Monarchies, as well as a Better; and the *Pope*'s Power in *France* is but a Shadow; ſo that upon this Foot there need be no great Danger to the Conſtitution by admitting *Papiſts* to Employments. I will help you to enough of them, ſhall be ready to allow the *Pope* as little Power here as you pleaſe; and the bare Opinion of his being Vicar of Chriſt is but a *ſpeculative Point*, for which no Man it ſeems ought to be deprived the Capacity of ſerving his Country.

BUT if you pleaſe, I will tell you the great Objection we have againſt repealing this ſame *Sacramental Teſt*. It is, that we are verily perſuaded the Conſequence will be an entire Alteration of Religion among us in no great Compaſs of Years. And pray, obſerve how we reaſon here in *Ireland* upon this Matter.

WE

We obſerve the *Scots* in our Northern Parts, to be a brave induſtrious People, extremely devoted to their Religion, and full of an *undiſturbed* Affection towards each other. Numbers of that noble Nation, invited by the Fertilities of Soil, are glad to exchange their barren Hills of *Lonquabar*, by a Voyage of three Hours, for our fruitful Vales of *Doun* and *Antrim*, ſo productive of that *Grain*, which at little Trouble and leſs Expence finds Diet and Lodging for themſelves and their Cattel. Theſe People by their extreme Parſimony, wonderful *Dexterty in Dealing*, and firm Adherence to one another, ſoon grow into Wealth from the *ſmalleſt Beginnings*, never are rooted out where they once fix, and increaſe daily by new Supplies: Beſides, when they are the ſuperior Number in any Tract of Ground, they are not *over-patient of Mixture*; but ſuch, whom they cannot *aſſimulate*, ſoon find it their Intereſt to remove. I have done all in my Power, on ſome Land of my own, to preſerve two or three *Engliſh* Fellows in their Neighbourhood, but found it impoſſible, tho' one of them thought he had ſufficiently made his Court by turning Presbyterian. Add to all this, that they bring along with them from *Scotland* a moſt formidable Notion of our Church, which they look upon at leaſt three Degrees worſe than Popery: and it is natural it ſhould be ſo, ſince they come over full fraught with that Spirit which taught them to aboliſh Epiſcopacy at home.

THEN we proceed farther, and obſerve, that the Gentlemen of Employments here make a very conſiderable Number in the Houſe of Commons, and have no *other Merit*, but that of doing their Duty in their ſeveral Stations; therefore when the Teſt is repealed, it will be highly reaſonable they ſhould give place to thoſe who have much *greater Services* to plead. The Commiſſions of the Revenue are ſoon diſpoſed of, and the Collectors and other Officers throughout the Kingdom are generally appointed by the Commiſſioners, which give them a mighty Influence in every County. As much may be ſaid of the great Officers in the Law; and when this Door is open to let Diſſenters into the Commiſſions of the Peace, to make them High-Sheriffs, Mayors of Corporations, and Officers of the Army and Militia, I do not ſee how it can be otherwiſe, conſidering their Induſtry and our Supineneſs, but that they may, in a very few Years, grow to a Majority in the Houſe of Commons, and conſequently make themſelves the National Religion, and have a fair Pretence to demand the Revenues of the Church for their Teachers. I know it will be objected, that if all this ſhould happen as I deſcribe, yet the Presbyterian Religion could never be made the National by Act of Parliament, becauſe our Biſhops are ſo great a Number in the Houſe of Lords; and without a Majority there, the Church could not be aboliſhed. But I have *two very good Expedients* for that, which I ſhall leave you to gueſs, and I dare

ſwear

ſwear our Sp--k--r here has often thought on, eſpecially having endeavoured at *One of them* ſo lately. That this Deſign is not ſo foreign from *ſome People's* Thoughts, I muſt let you know that an honeſt *Bell-weather* of our Houſe (you have him now in *England*, I wiſh you could keep him there) had the Impudence ſome Years ago, in Parliament-time, to ſhake my Lord Biſhop of *Kilaloo* by his Lawn-Sleeve, and tell him, in a threatning manner, *That he hoped to live to ſee the Day, when there ſhould not be One of his Order in the Kingdom.*

THESE laſt Lines perhaps you think a Digreſſion; therefore to return, I have told you the Conſequences we fully reckon upon from repealing the *Sacramental Teſt*, which although the greateſt Number of ſuch as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of Pain about, and many of them care not Three-Pence whether there be any *Church*, or no; yet becauſe they pretend to argue from Conſcience as well as Policy and Intereſt, I thought it proper to underſtand and anſwer them accordingly.

NOW, Sir, in Anſwer to your Queſtion, Whether if any Attempt ſhould be made here for repealing the *Sacramental Teſt*, it would be likely to ſucceed? The Number of profeſſed Diſſenters in this Parliament was, as I remember, ſomething under a Dozen, and I cannot call to mind above thirty others who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the Presbyterian

Party having with great Induſtry muſtered up their Forces, did endeavour one Day, upon Occaſion of a Hint in my Lord *P*-----*ke*'s Speech, to introduce a Debate about repealing the *Teſt Clauſe*, when there appeared at leaſt four to one Odds againſt them; and the ableſt of thoſe who were reckoned the moſt ſtanch and thorough-pac'd *Whigs* upon all other Occaſions, fell off with an Abhorrence at the firſt mention of this.

I MUST deſire you to take notice, that the Terms of *Whig* and *Tory* do not properly expreſs the different Intereſts in our Parliament. I remember when I was laſt in *England*, I told the King, that the higheſt Tories we had with us would make tolerable Whigs there: This was certainly right, and ſtill in the general continues ſo, unleſs you have ſince admitted new Characteriſticks, which did not come within our Definition. Whoever bears a true Veneration for the glorious Memory of King *William*, as our great Deliverer from Popery and Slavery; whoever is firmly loyal to our preſent Queen, with an utter Abhorrence and Deteſtation of the Pretender; whoever approves the Succeſſion to the Crown in the Houſe of *Hanover*, and is for preſerving the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, with an *Indulgence* for ſcrupulous Conſciences; ſuch a Man we think acts upon right Principles, and may be juſtly allowed a *Whig*: And I believe there are not ſix Members in our Houſe of Commons, who may not fairly come under this Deſcription. So that the Parties

ties among us are made up on one ſide of *moderate Whigs*, and on the other, of *Presbyterians* and their *Abettors*, by which laſt I mean ſuch who can equally go to a *Church* or *Conventicle*, or ſuch who are indifferent to all Religion in general; or laſtly, ſuch who affect to bear a perſonal Rancour towards the Clergy: Theſe laſt are a Sett of Men not of our own Growth, their Principles at leaſt have been *imported* of late Years; yet this whole Party put together will hardly, I am confident, amount to above fifty Men in Parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a Majority of three Hundred.

As to the Houſe of Lords, the Difficulty there is conceived at leaſt as great as in Ours. So many of our Temporal Peers live in *England*, that the Biſhops are generally pretty near a *Par* of the Houſe, and we reckon they will be all to a Man againſt repealing the *Teſt*; and yet their Lordſhips are generally thought as good Whigs upon our Principles as any in the Kingdom. There are indeed a few Lay Lords who appear to have no great Devotion for Epiſcopacy; and one or two more with whom *certain powerful Motives* might be uſed for removing any Difficulty whatſoever: But theſe are, in no ſort, of a Number to carry any Point againſt a Conjunction of the reſt of the whole Bench of Biſhops.

Besides, the whole Body of our Clergy are utterly againſt repealing the *Teſt*, though they are entirely devoted to her Majeſty, and hardly

one in a hundred who are not very good *Whigs* in our Acceptation of the Word. And I muſt let you know, that we of *Ireland* are not yet come up to *other Folks Refinements*, for we generally love and eſteem our Clergy, and think they deſerve it; nay, we are apt to lay ſome Weight upon their Opinion, and would not willingly diſoblige them, at leaſt, unleſs it were upon ſome greater Point of Intereſt than this. And their Judgment in the preſent Affairs is the more to be regarded, becauſe they are the laſt Perſons who will be affected by it: This makes us think them impartial, and that their Concern is only for Religion and the Intereſt of the Kingdom. Becauſe the Act which repeals the *Teſt* will only qualify a *Layman* for an Employment, but not a *Presbyterian* or *Anabaptiſt* Parſon for a Church-Living. Now I muſt take leave to inform you, that ſeveral Members of our Houſe, and myſelf among the reſt, knowing ſome time ago what was upon the Anvil, went to all the Clergy we knew of any Diſtinction, and deſired their Judgment in the Matter, wherein we found a moſt wonderful Agreement, there being but *one Divine* that we could hear of in the whole Kingdom, who appeared of a contrary Sentiment, wherein he afterwards ſtood alone in the *Convocation*, very little to his *Credit*, though, as he hoped, very much to his *Intereſt*.

I WILL now conſider a little the Arguments offered to ſhew the Advantages, or rather the Neceſſity of repealing the *Teſt in Ireland*. We are told,

told, the Popiſh Intereſt is here ſo formidable, that all Hands ſhould be joined to keep it under, that the only Names of Diſtinction among us ought to be thoſe of *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*, and that this Expedient is the only Means to *unite* all Proteſtants upon one common Bottom. All which is nothing but Miſrepreſentation and Miſtake.

If we were under any real Fear of the Papiſts in this Kingdom, it would be hard to think us ſo ſtupid, not to be equally apprehenſive with *others*, ſince we are likely to be the greateſt, and more immediate Sufferers: But on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconſiderable as the Women and Children. Their Lands are almoſt entirely taken from them, and they are render'd uncapable of purchaſing any more; and for the little that remains, Proviſion is made by the late Act againſt Popery, that it will daily crumble away: To prevent which, ſome of the moſt conſiderable among them are already turned Proteſtants, and ſo in all probability will many more. Then, the Popiſh Prieſts are all regiſter'd, and without Permiſſion (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no Succeſſors; ſo that the Proteſtant Clery will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great Numbers over to the Church; and in the mean time, the common People, without Leaders, without Diſcipline, or natural Courage, being little better than *Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water*, are out of all capacity of doing any Miſchief, if

they were ever ſo well inclin'd. Neither are they at all likely to join in any conſiderable Numbers with an *Invader*, having found ſo ill Succeſs when they were much more numerous and powerful; when they had a Prince of their own Religion to head them, had been train'd for ſome Years under a *Popiſh Deputy*, and received ſuch mighty Aids from the *French* King.

As to that Argument uſed for repealing the *Teſt*, that it will unite all the Proteſtants againſt the *Common Enemy*; I wonder by what Figure thoſe Gentlemen ſpeak, who are pleaſed to advance it: Suppoſe, in order to increaſe the Friendſhip between you and me, a Law ſhould paſs, that I muſt have half your Eſtate; do you think that would much advance the Union between us? Or ſuppoſe I ſhare my Fortune equally between my own *Children* and a *Stranger* whom I take into my Protection; will that be a Method to unite them? 'Tis an odd Way of uniting Parties, to deprive a *Majority* of Part of their ancient Right, by conferring it on a *Faction* who had never any Right at all, and therefore cannot be ſaid to ſuffer any Loſs or Injury, if it be refuſed them. Neither is it very clear, how far ſome People may ſtretch the Term of *Common Enemy*. How many are there of thoſe that call themſelves Proteſtants, who look upon our Worſhip to be idolatrous as well as that of the Papiſts, and with great Charity put *Prelacy* and *Popery* together as Terms convertible.

And therefore there is one ſmall Doubt I would be willingly ſatisfied in, before I agree to the repealing of the *Teſt*; that is, whether theſe ſame *Proteſtants*, when they have by their Dexterity made themſelves the National Religion, and diſpoſed the Church Revenues among their *Paſtors* or *themſelves*, will be ſo kind to allow *us Diſſenters*, I do not ſay a Share in Employments, but a bare *Toleration* by Law. The Reaſon of my Doubt is, becauſe I have been ſo very idle as to read above fifty Pamphlets written by as many Presbyterian Divines, loudly diſclaiming this Idol *Toleration*, ſome of them calling it (I know not how properly) a *Rag of Popery*, and all agreeing it was to *eſtabliſh Iniquity by Law*. Now I would be glad to know when and where *their Succeſſors* have renounced this Doctrine, and before what Witneſſes. Becauſe methinks I ſhould be loth to ſee my poor titular Biſhop, *in partibus*, ſeized on by miſtake in the dark for a Jeſuit, or be forced myſelf to keep a Chaplain diſguiſed like my Butler, and ſteal to Prayers in a back Room, as my Grandfather uſed in thoſe Times when the Church of *England* was *malignant*.

But this is ripping up old Quarrels long forgot; Popery is now the *common Enemy*, againſt which we muſt all unite: I have been tired in Hiſtory with the perpetual Folly of thoſe States, who call in Foreigners to aſſiſt them againſt a *common Enemy*: But the Miſchief was, theſe *Allies* would never be brought to allow that the common Enemy was quite ſubdued. And they

had Reaſon; for it proved at laſt, that one Part of the common Enemy was thoſe who called them in, and ſo the *Allies* became at length the *Maſters*.

'TIS agreed among Naturaliſts, that a *Lion* is a larger, a ſtronger, and more dangerous Enemy than a *Cat*; yet if a Man were to have his choice, either a *Lion* at his Foot, bound faſt with three or four Chains, his Teeth drawn out, and his Claws pared to the Quick, or an angry *Cat*, in full Liberty at his Throat; he would take no long Time to determine.

I HAVE been ſometimes admiring the wonderful Significancy of that Word *Perſecution*, and what various Interpretations it hath acquir'd even within my Memory. When I was a Boy, I often heard the Presbyterians complain, that they were not permitted to ſerve God their own way; they ſaid they did not grudge us our Employments, but thought that all Men who live peaceably ought to have Liberty of Conſcience, and Leave to aſſemble. That Impediment being removed at the Revolution, they ſoon learned to ſwallow the *Sacramental Teſt*, and began to take very large Steps, wherein all that offered to oppoſe them were called Men of a *perſecuting Spirit*. During the Time the Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity was on foot, *Perſecution* was every Day rung in our Ears, and now at laſt the *Sacramental Teſt* itſelf has the ſame Name. Where then is this Matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one Requeſt is only uſed as a Step

Step to demand another? A Lover is ever complaining of *Cruelty* while any Thing is denied him; and when the Lady ceaſes to be *cruel*, ſhe is from the next Moment at his Mercy: So *Perſecution*, it ſeems, is every thing that will not leave it in Mens Power to *perſecute Others*.

THERE is one Argument offered againſt a *Sacramental Teſt*, by a ſort of Men who are content to be ſtiled of the Church of *England*, who perhaps attend its Service in the Morning, and go with their Wives to a *Conventicle* in the Afternoon, confeſſing they hear very good Doctrine in both. Theſe Men are much offended, that ſo Holy an Inſtitution, as that of the Lord's Supper, ſhould be made ſubſervient to ſuch mercenary Purpoſes as the getting of an Employment. Now it ſeems, the Law, concluding all Men to be Members of that Church where they receive the Sacrament; and ſuppoſing all Men to live like Chriſtians (eſpecially thoſe who are to have Employments) did imagine they received the Sacrament in Courſe, about four times a Year; and therefore only deſired it might appear by Certificate to the Publick, that ſuch who take an Office were Members of the Church eſtabliſhed, by doing their ordinary Duty. However, *leſt we ſhould offend them*, we have often deſired they would deal candidly with us: For if the Matter ſtuck only there, we would propoſe it in Parliament, That every Man who takes an Employment, ſhould, inſtead of receiving the Sacrament, be obliged to ſwear, that he is a Member

of

of the Church of *Ireland* by Law eſtabliſhed, with Epiſcopacy, *and ſo forth*; and as they do now in *Scotland*, *to be true to the Kirk*. But when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the main Body of the Argument, urge the Hardſhip that Men ſhould be deprived the Liberty of ſerving their Queen and Country on account of their Conſcience: And in ſhort, have recourſe to the common Stile of their Half-Brethren. Now whether this be a ſincere Way of Arguing, I will appeal to any other Judgment but theirs.

THERE is another Topick of Clamour ſomewhat parallel to the foregoing: It ſeems by the Teſt-Clauſe, the *Military* Officers are obliged to receive the Sacrament, as well as the *Civil*. And it is a Matter of ſome Patience, to hear the Diſſenters declaiming upon this Occaſion: They cry they are *diſarmed*, they are uſed like Papiſts: when an Enemy appears at home, or from abroad, they muſt ſit ſtill, and ſee their Throats cut, or be hang'd for High Treaſon if they offer to defend themſelves. Miſerable Condition! Woeful Dilemma! It is happy for us all, the Pretender was not appriſed of this *paſſive Presbyterian* Principle, elſe he would have infallibly landed in our *Northern* Parts, and found them all ſat down in their Formalities, as the *Gauls* did the *Roman* Senators, ready to die with Honour in their Callings. Sometimes to appeaſe their Indignation, we venture to give them hopes, that in ſuch a Caſe the Government will perhaps connive, and hardly be ſo ſevere to hang them for defending

it

it againſt the Letter of the Law; to which they readily anſwer, That they will not lie at our Mercy, but let us fight our Battels ourſelves. Sometimes we offer to get an Act, by which, upon all *Popiſh* Inſurrections at home, or *Popiſh* Invaſions from abroad, the Government ſhall be impower'd to grant Commiſſions to all Proteſtants whatſoever, without that *perſecuting* Circumſtance of obliging them to *ſay their Prayers* when they receive the Sacrament: But they abhor all Thoughts of *occaſional* Commiſſions; they will not do our Drudgery, and we reap the Benefit: It is not worth their while to fight *pro Aris & Focis*; and they had rather loſe their Eſtates, Liberties, Religion, and Lives, than the Pleaſure of *Governing*.

BUT to bring this Diſcourſe towards a Concluſion: If the Diſſenters will be ſatisfied with ſuch a *Toleration* by Law, as hath been granted them in *England*, I believe the Majority of both Houſes will fall readily in with it; farther it will be hard to perſuade this Houſe of Commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to ſay the Truth, we make a mighty Difference here between ſuffering *Thiſtles* to grow among us, and wearing them for *Poſies*. We are fully convinced in our Conſciences, that *We* ſhall always *tolerate Them*; but not quite ſo fully that *They* will always *tolerate Us*, when it comes to their Turn; and *We* are the Majority, and *We* are in Poſſeſſion.

HE

HE that argues in Defence of a Law in Force, not antiquated or obſolete, but lately enacted, is certainly on the ſafer Side, and may be allowed to point out the Dangers he conceives to foreſee in the Abrogation of it.

FOR if the Conſequences of repealing this Clauſe, ſhould at ſome time or other enable the Presbyterians to work themſelves up into the national Church; inſtead of *uniting* Proteſtants, it would ſow eternal Diviſions among them. Firſt their own Sects, which now lie dormant, would be ſoon at Cuffs *again* with each other about Power and Preferment; and the *diſſenting Epiſcopals*, perhaps diſcontented to ſuch a degree, as upon ſome *fair unhappy* Occaſion, would be able to ſhake the firmeſt Loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

NEITHER is it very difficult to conjecture, from ſome late Proceedings, at what a rate this *Faction* is like to drive wherever it gets the *Whip* and the *Seat*. They have already ſet up Courts of ſpiritual Judicature in open Contempt of the Laws; They ſend *Miſſionaries* every where, without being invited, in order to convert the *Church-of-England* Folks to *Chriſtianity*. They are as vigilant as *I know who*, to attend Perſons on their Death-Beds, and for Purpoſes much alike. And what Practices ſuch Principles as theſe (with many other that might be invidious to mention) may ſpawn, when they are *laid out to the Sun*, you may determine at leiſure. LASTLY,

LASTLY, whether we are ſo entirely ſure of their Loyalty upon the preſent Foot of Government as you may imagine, their Detractors make a Queſtion, which however does, I think, by no means affect the Body of Diſſenters: But the Inſtance produced, is of ſome among their leading Teachers in the North, who have refuſed the *Abjuration Oath*, yet continue their Preaching, and have abundance of Followers. The Particulars are out of my head, but the Fact is notorious enough, and I believe has been publiſhed; I think it a pity it has not been *remedied*.

THUS I have fairly given you, Sir, my own Opinion, as well as that of a great Majority in both Houſes here, relating to this weighty Affair; upon which I am confident you may ſecurely reckon. I will leave you to make what uſe of it you pleaſe.

I am with great Reſpect, Sir,

Dublin, December *the* 4th, 1708.

Your, &c.

A CRITICAL ESSAY UPON THE Faculties of the Mind.

To ———

SIR,

BEING *ſo great a Lover of Antiquities, it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe you would be very much obliged with any Thing that was New. I have been of late offended with many Writers of Eſſays and Moral Diſcourſes, for running into ſtale*

ſtale Topicks and thread-bare Quotations, and not handling their Subject fully and cloſely: All which Errors I have carefully avoided in the following Eſſay, which I have propoſed as a Pattern for young Writers to imitate. The Thoughts and Obſervations being entirely new, the Quotations untouched by others, the Subject of mighty Importance, and treated with much Order and Perſpicuity: It has coſt me a great deal of Time; and I deſire you will accept and conſider it as the utmoſt Effort of my Genius.

A

Critical Eſſay, &c.

PHiloſophers ſay that Man is a Microcoſm, or little World, reſembling in Miniature every Part of the Great: And, in my Opinion, the Body Natural may be compared to the Body Politick: And if this be ſo, how can the *Epicurean*'s Opinion be true, that the Univerſe was formed by a fortuitous Concourſe of Atoms; which I will no more believe, than that the accidental Jumbling of the Letters in the Alphabet, would fall by chance into a moſt ingenious and learned Treatiſe of Philoſophy, *Riſum teneatis amici*, HOR. This falſe Opinion muſt needs create many more; 'tis like an Error in the firſt Concoction, which cannot be corrected in the ſecond; the Foundation is weak, and whatever Superſtructure you raiſe upon it, muſt of neceſſity fall to the Ground. Thus Men are led from one Error to another, till with *Ixion* they embrace a Cloud inſtead of *Juno*; or like the Dog in the Fable, loſe the Subſtance in gaping at the Shadow. For ſuch Opinions cannot cohere; but like the Iron and the

the Clay in the Toes of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Image, muſt ſeparate and break in Pieces. I have read in a certain Author that *Alexander* wept becauſe he had no more Worlds to conquer; which he needed not have done, if the fortuitous Concourſe of Atoms could create one: But this is an Opinion fitter for that many headed Beaſt the Vulgar to entertain, than for ſo wiſe a Man as *Epicurus*; the corrupt Part of his Sect only borrow'd his Name, as the Monkey did the Cat's Claw, to draw the Cheſnut out of the Fire.

HOWEVER, the firſt Step to the Cure, is to know the Diſeaſe; and tho' Truth may be difficult to find, becauſe, as the Philoſopher obſerves, ſhe lives in the Bottom of a Well, yet we need not, like blind Men, grope in open Day-light. I hope I may be allowed among ſo many far more learned Men, to offer my Mite, ſince a Stander-by may ſometimes perhaps ſee more of the Game than he that plays it. But I do not think a Philoſopher obliged to account for every Phænomenon in Nature, or drown himſelf with *Ariſtotle*, for not being able to ſolve the ebbing and flowing of the Tide, in that fatal Sentence he paſt upon himſelf, *Quia te non capio, tu capies me.*

WHEREIN he was at once the Judge and the Criminal, the Accuſer, and Executioner. *Socrates* on the other hand, who ſaid he knew nothing, was pronounced by the Oracle to be the wiſeſt Man in the World.

BUT,

BUT, to return from this Digreſſion, I think it as clear as any Demonſtration in *Euclid*, that Nature does nothing in vain; if we were able to dive into her ſecret Receſſes, we ſhall find that the ſmalleſt Blade of Graſs, or more contemptible Weed, has its particular Uſe; but ſhe is chiefly admirable in her minuteſt Compoſitions, the leaſt and moſt contemptible Inſect moſt diſcovers the Art of Nature, if I may ſo call it; tho' Nature, which delights in Variety, will always triumph over Art: And as the Poet obſerves,

Naturam expellas furca licet, uſque recurret.
HOR.

BUT the various Opinions of Philoſophers have ſcattered through the World as many Plagues of the Mind, as *Pandora*'s Box did thoſe of the Body, only with this Difference, that they have not left Hope at the Bottom. And if Truth be not fled with *Aſtrea*, ſhe is certainly as hidden as the Source of *Nile*, and can be found only in *Utopia*. Not that I would reflect on thoſe wiſe Sages, which would be a ſort of Ingratitude; and he that calls a Man ungrateful, ſums up all the Evil that a Man can be guilty of,

Ingratum ſi dixeris omnia dicis.

BUT what I blame the Philoſophers for (tho' ſome may think it a Paradox) is chiefly their Pride; nothing leſs than an *Ipſe dixit*, and you muſt

muſt pin your Faith on their Sleeve. And tho' *Diogenes* lived in a Tub, there might be, for ought I know, as much Pride under his Rags, as in the fine ſpun Garment of the Divine *Plato*. It is reported of this *Diogenes*, that when *Alexander* came to ſee him, and promiſed to give him whatever he would ask, the *Cynick* only anſwer'd, *Take not from me what thou canſt not give me, but ſtand from between me and the Light*; which was almoſt as extravagant as the Philoſopher that flung his Money into the Sea, with this remarkable Saying——

How different was this Man from the Uſurer, who being told his Son would ſpend all he had got, replied, *He cannot take more Pleaſure in Spending, than I did in Getting it.* Theſe Men could ſee the Faults of each other, but not their own; thoſe they flung into the Bag behind; *Non videmus id manticæ quod in tergo eſt.* I may perhaps be cenſured for my free Opinions, by thoſe carping Momus's, whom Authors worſhip as the *Indians* do the Devil, for Fear. They will endeavour to give my Reputation as many Wounds as the Man in the Almanack; but I value it not; and perhaps, like Flies, they may buz ſo often about the Candle, till they burn their Wings. They muſt pardon me if I venture to give them this Advice, not to rail at what they cannot underſtand: it does but diſcover that ſelf-tormenting Paſſion of Envy, than which the greateſt Tyrant never intended a more cruel Torment.

Invidia Siculi non invenere Tyranni
Tormentum majus——— JUV.

I MUST be ſo bold to tell my Criticks and Witlings, that they are no more Judges of this, than a Man that is born blind can have any true Idea of Colours. I have always obſerved that your empty Veſſels ſound loudeſt: I value their Laſhes as little as the Sea did when *Xerxes* whipp'd it The utmoſt Favour a Man can expect from them is, that which *Polyphemus* promiſed *Ulyſſes*, that he would devour him the laſt: They think to ſubdue a Writer as *Cæſar* did his Enemy, with a *Veni*, *vidi*, *viſi*. I confeſs I value the Opinion of the judicious Few, a *R*——*r*, a *D*——*s*, or a *W*——*k*; but for the reſt, to give my Judgment at once, I think the long Diſpute among the Philoſophers about a *Vacuum*, may be determined in the Affirmative, that it is to be found in a Critick's Head. They are at beſt but the Drones of the learned World, who devour the Honey, and will not work themſelves; and a Writer need no more regard them than the Moon does the barking of a little ſenſeleſs Cur. For, in ſpight of their terrible roaring, you may with half an Eye diſcover the *Aſs* under the *Lion*'s Skin.

BUT to return to our Diſcourſe: *Demoſthenes* being ask'd, what was the firſt Part of an Orator, replied, *Action*: What was the ſecond, *Action*: What was the third, *Action*: And ſo on *ad infinitum*.

nitum. This may be true in Oratory, but Contemplation in other Things exceeds Action. And therefore a wiſe Man is never leſs alone, than when he is alone:

Nunquam minus ſolus quam cum ſolus.

AND *Archimedes*, the famous Mathematician, was ſo intent upon his Problems, that he never minded the Soldier who came to kill him. Therefore not to detract from the juſt Praiſe which belongs to Orators, they ought to conſider that Nature, which gave us two Eyes to ſee, and two Ears to hear, has given us but one Tongue to ſpeak, wherein however ſome do ſo abound, that the Virtuoſi who have been ſo long in ſearch for the perpetual Motion, may infallibly find it there.

SOME Men admire Republicks, becauſe Orators flouriſh there moſt, and are the great Enemies of Tyranny: But my Opinion is, that one Tyrant is better than a Hundred. Beſides, theſe Orators enflame the People, whoſe Anger is really but a ſhort Fit of Madneſs.

Ira furor brevis eſt.——HOR.

AFTER which, Laws are like Cob-webs, which may catch ſmall Flies, but let Whaſps and Hornets break through. But in Oratory, the greateſt Art is to hide Art.

Artis eſt celare Artem.

BUT this muſt be the Work of Time, we muſt lay hold on all Opportunities, and let ſlip no Occaſion, elſe we ſhall be forced to weave *Penelope*'s Web, unravel in the Night what we did in the Day. And therefore I have obſerved, that Time is painted with a Lock before, and bald behind, ſignifying thereby that we muſt take Time (as we ſay) by the Forelock, for when 'tis once paſt, there is no recalling it.

THE Mind of Man is at firſt (if you will pardon the Expreſſion) like a *Tabula raſa*, or like Wax, which while it is ſoft is capable of any Impreſſion, 'till Time has harden'd it. And at length Death, that grim Tyrant, ſtops us in the midſt of our Career. The greateſt Conquerors have at laſt been conquered by Death, which ſpares none, from the Scepter to the Spade.

Mors omnibus communis.

ALL Rivers go to the Sea, but none return from it. *Xerxes* wept when he beheld his Army, to conſider that in leſs than an hundred Years they would be all dead. *Anacreon* was choak'd with a Grape-ſtone, and violent Joy kills as well as violent Grief. There is nothing in this World conſtant, but Inconſtancy; yet *Plato* thought, that if Virtue would appear to the World in her own native Dreſs, all Men would be enamour'd

with

with her. But now ſince Intereſt governs the World, and Men neglect the Golden Mean, *Jupiter* himſelf, if he came on the Earth would be deſpiſed, unleſs it were as he did to *Danae*, in a Golden Shower: For Men now a-days worſhip the Riſing Sun, and not the Setting.

Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos.

THUS have I, in obedience to your Commands, ventured to expoſe myſelf to cenſure in this critical Age. Whether I have done right to my Subject, muſt be left to the Judgment of the learned Reader: However, I cannot but hope that my attempting of it may be an Encouragement for ſome able Pen to perform it with more Succeſs.

PREDICTIONS

OR THE

YEAR, 1708.

Wherein the Month and Day of the Month are ſet down, the Perſons named, and the great Actions and Events of next Year particularly related, as will come to paſs.

Written to prevent the People of England *from being farther impoſed on by vulgar Almanack-makers.*

By ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, *Eſq;*

I HAVING long conſider'd the groſs Abuſe of Aſtrology in this Kingdom; upon debating the Matter with myſelf, I could not poſſibly lay the Fault upon the Art, but upon thoſe groſs Impoſtors, who ſet up to be

be the Artiſts. I know ſeveral learned Men have contended that the whole is a Cheat; that it is abſurd and ridiculous to imagine, the Stars can have any Influence at all upon human Actions, Thoughts or Inclinations: And whoever has not bent his Studies that way, may be excuſed for thinking ſo, when he ſees in how wretched a manner that noble Art is treated by a few mean illiterate Traders between us and the Stars; who import a yearly Stock of Nonſenſe, Lies, Folly, and Impertinence, which they offer to the World as genuine from the Planets, tho' they deſcend from no greater a Height than their own Brains.

I INTEND in a ſhort time to publiſh a large and rational Defence of this Art, and therefore ſhall ſay no more in its Juſtification at preſent, than that it hath been in all Ages defended by many learned Men, and among the reſt by *Socrates* himſelf, whom I look upon as undoubtedly the wiſeſt of uninſpir'd Mortals: To which if we add, that thoſe who have condemned this Art, though otherwiſe learned, having been ſuch as either did not apply their Studies this Way, or at leaſt did not ſucceed in their Applications: Their Teſtimony will not be of much weight to its Diſadvantage, ſince they are liable to the common Objection of condemning what they did not underſtand.

NOR am I at all offended, or think it an Injury to the Art, when I ſee the common Dealers in it, the *Students in Aſtrology*, the *Philomaths*,

and the reſt of that Tribe, treated by wiſe Men with the utmoſt Scorn and Contempt; but rather wonder, when I obſerve Gentlemen in the Country, rich enough to ſerve the Nation in Parliament, poring in *Partridge*'s Almanack, to find out the Events of the Year at Home and Abroad; not daring to propoſe a Hunting-Match, till *Gadbury* or he have fixed the Weather.

I WILL allow either of the two I have mentioned, or any other of the Fraternity, to be not only Aſtrologers, but Conjurers too, if I do not produce a hundred Inſtances in all their Almanacks, to convince any reaſonable Man, that they do not ſo much as underſtand common Grammar and Syntax; that they are not able to ſpell any Word out of the uſual Road, nor even in their Prefaces write common Senſe or intelligible *Engliſh*. Then for their Obſervations and Predictions, they are ſuch as will equally ſuit any Age or Country in the World. *This Month a certain great Perſon will be threaten'd with Death or Sickneſs.* This the News-Paper will tell them, for there we find at the End of the Year, that no Month paſſes without the Death of ſome Perſon of Note; and it would be hard, if it ſhould be otherwiſe, when there are at leaſt two thouſand Perſons of Note in this Kingdom, many of them old, and the Almanack-maker has the Liberty of chuſing the ſickrieſt Seaſon of the Year where he may fix his Prediction. Again, *This Month an eminent Clergyman will be preferr'd*; of which there may be ſome Hundreds, half of them with one

one Foot in the Grave. Then *ſuch a Planet in ſuch a Houſe ſhews great Machinations, Plots, and Conſpiracies, that may in time be brought to Light*: After which, if we hear of any Diſcovery, the Aſtrologer gets the Honour; if not, his Prediction ſtill ſtands good. And at laſt, *God preſerve King* William *from all his open and ſecret Enemies, Amen.* When if the King ſhould happen to have died, the Aſtrologer plainly foretold it; otherwiſe it paſſes but for the pious Ejaculations of a loyal Subject: Though it unluckily happened in ſome of their Almanacks, that poor King *William* was pray'd for many Months after he was dead, becauſe it fell out that he died about the Beginning of the Year.

To mention no more of their impertinent Predictions: What have we to do with their Advertiſements about *Pills and Drink for the Venereal Diſeaſe*? Or their mutual Quarrels in Verſe and Proſe of *Whig* and *Tory*, wherewith the Stars have little to do?

HAVING long obſerved and lamented theſe, and a hundred other Abuſes of this Art, too tedious to repeat, I reſolved to proceed in a new Way, which I doubt not will be to the general Satisfaction of the Kingdom: I can this Year produce but a Specimen of what I deſign for the future; having employ'd moſt part of my Time in adjuſting and correcting the Calculations I made ſome Years paſt, becauſe I would offer nothing to the World of which I am not as fully

ſatisfied, as that I am now alive. For theſe two laſt Years I have not failed in above one or two Particulars, and thoſe of no very great Moment. I exactly foretold the Miſcarriage at *Toulon*, with all its Particulars; and the Loſs of Admiral *Shovel*, tho' I was miſtaken as to the Day, placing that Accident about thirty-ſix Hours ſooner than it happen'd; but upon reviewing my Schemes I quickly found the Cauſe of that Error. I likewiſe foretold the Battle of *Almanza* to the very Day and Hour, with the Loſs on both Sides, and the Conſequences thereof. All which I ſhewed to ſome Friends many Months before they happened, that is, I gave them Papers ſealed up, to open at ſuch a Time, after which they were at liberty to read them; and there they found my Predictions true in every Article, except one or two, very minute.

As for the few following Predictions I now offer the World, I forbore to publiſh them till I had peruſed the ſeveral Almanacks for the Year we are now enter'd on. I find them all in the uſual Strain, and I beg the Reader will compare their Manner with mine: And here I make bold to tell the World, that I lay the whole Credit of my Art upon the Truth of theſe Predictions; and I will be content, that *Partridge*, and the reſt of his Clan, may hoot me for a Cheat and Impoſtor, if I fail in any ſingle Particular of Moment. I believe, any Man who reads this Paper, will look upon me to be at leaſt a Perſon of as much Honeſty and Underſtanding,

ſtanding, as a common Maker of Almanacks. I do not lurk in the Dark; I am not wholly unknown in the World; I have ſet my Name at length, to be a Mark of Infamy to Mankind, if they ſhall find I deceive them.

IN one Thing I muſt deſire to be forgiven, that I talk more ſparingly of Home-Affairs: As it would be Imprudence to diſcover Secrets of State, ſo it would be dangerous to my Perſon; but in ſmaller Matters, and that are not of publick Conſequence, I ſhall be very free; and the Truth of my Conjectures will as much appear from theſe as the other. As for the moſt ſignal Events abroad in *France*, *Flanders*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, I ſhall make no Scruple to predict them in plain Terms: Some of them are of Importance, and I hope I ſhall ſeldom miſtake the Day they will happen; therefore, I think good to inform the Reader, that I all along make uſe of the *Old Stile* obſerved in *England*, which I deſire he will compare with that of the News-Papers, at the Time they relate the Actions I mention.

I MUST add one Word more: I know it hath been the Opinion of ſeveral of the Learned, who think well enough of the true Art of Aſtrology, That the Stars do only *incline*, and not *force* the Actions or Wills of Men: And therefore, however I may proceed by Right Rules, yet I cannot in Prudence ſo confidently aſſure the Events will follow exactly as I predict them.

I HOPE I have maturely conſider'd this Objection, which in ſome Caſes is of no little Weight. For Example: A Man may, by the Influence of an over-ruling Planet, be diſpoſed or inclined to Luſt, Rage, or Avarice, and yet by the Force of Reaſon overcome that bad Influence; and this was the Caſe of *Socrates:* But as the great Events of the World uſually depend upon Numbers of Men, it cannot be expected they ſhould all unite to croſs their Inclinations, from purſuing a general Deſign, wherein they unanimouſly agree. Beſides, the Influence of the Stars reaches to many Actions and Events which are not any way in the Power of Reaſon; as Sickneſs, Death, and what we commonly call Accidents, with many more needleſs to repeat.

BUT now it is Time to proceed to my Predictions, which I have begun to calculate from the Time that the *Sun* enters into *Aries*. And this I take to be properly the Beginning of the natural Year. I purſue them to the Time that he enters *Libra*, or ſomewhat more, which is the buſy Period of the Year. The Remainder I have not yet adjuſted, upon Account of ſeveral Impediments needleſs here to mention: Beſides, I muſt remind the Reader again, that this is but a Specimen of what I deſign in ſucceeding Years to treat more at large, if I may have Liberty and Encouragement.

My firſt Prediction is but a Trifle, yet I will mention it, to ſhew how ignorant thoſe ſottiſh Pretenders to Aſtrology are in their own Concerns: It relates to *Partridge* the Almanack-maker; *I* have conſulted the Stars of his Nativity by my own Rules, and find he will infallibly die upon the 29th of *March* next, about Eleven at Night, of a raging Fever; therefore I adviſe him to conſider of it, and ſettle his Affairs in time.

The Month of *APRIL* will be obſervable for the Death of many great Perſons. On the 4th will die the Cardinal *de Noailles*, Archbiſhop of *Paris*: On the 11th the young Prince of *Aſturias*, Son to the Duke of *Anjou*: On the 14th a great *Peer* of this Realm will die at his Country Houſe: On the 19th an old *Layman* of great Fame for Learning: And on the 23d an eminent Goldſmith in *Lombard-Street*. I could mention others, both at Home and Abroad, if I did not conſider it is of very little Uſe or Inſtruction to the Reader, or to the World.

As to Publick Affairs: On the 7th of this Month there will be an Inſurrection in *Dauphiné*, occaſioned by the Oppreſſions of the People, which will not be quieted in ſome Months.

On the 15th will be a violent Storm on the South Eaſt Coaſt of *France*, which will deſtroy many of their Ships, and ſome in the very Harbour.

THE 19th will be famous for the Revolt of a whole Province or Kingdom, excepting one City, by which the Affairs of a certain Prince in the Alliance will take a better face.

MAY, againſt common Conjectures, will be no very buſy Month in *Europe*, but very ſignal for the Death of the *Dauphine*, which will happen on the 7th, after a ſhort Fit of Sickneſs, and grievous Torments with the Strangury. He dies leſs lamented by the Court than the Kingdom.

ON the 9th a *Mareſchal* of *France* will break his Leg by a Fall from his Horſe. I have not been able to diſcover whether he will then die, or not.

ON the 11th will begin a moſt important Siege, which the Eyes of all *Europe* will be upon: I cannot be more particular; for in relating Affairs that ſo nearly concern the *Confederates*, and conſequently this Kingdom, I am forced to confine myſelf, for ſeveral Reaſons very obvious to the Reader.

ON the 15th, News will arrive of a very *ſurprizing Event*, than which nothing could be more unexpected.

ON the 19th, three noble Ladies of this Kingdom will, againſt all Expectation, prove with Child, to the great Joy of their Husbands.

ON

On the 23d, a famous Buffoon of the Play-Houſe will die a ridiculous Death, ſuitable to his Vocation.

June. This Month will be diſtinguiſhed at Home, by the utter diſperſing of thoſe ridiculous deluded Enthuſiaſts, commonly call'd the *Prophets*; occaſion'd chiefly by ſeeing the Time come, that many of their Prophecies ſhould be fulfill'd, and then finding themſelves deceiv'd by contrary Events. It is indeed to be admired how any Deceiver can be ſo weak, to foretel Things near at hand, when a very few Months muſt of neceſſity diſcover the Impoſture to all the World; in this point leſs prudent than common Almanack-makers, who are ſo wiſe to wander in Generals, and talk dubiouſly, and leave to the Reader the Buſineſs of interpreting.

On the 1ſt of this Month a *French* General will be killed by a random Shot of a Cannon-Ball.

On the 6th a Fire will break out in the Suburbs of *Paris*, which will deſtroy above a thouſand Houſes; and ſeems to be the foreboding of what will happen, to the Surprize of all *Europe*, about the End of the following Month.

On the 10th a great Battle will be fought, which will begin at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, and laſt till Nine at Night with great Obſtinacy,

Obſtinacy. but no very deciſive Event. I ſhall not name the Place, for the Reaſons aforeſaid; but the Commanders on each left Wing will be killed. —— I ſee Bonfires, and hear the Noiſe of Guns for a Victory.

ON the 14th there will be a falſe Report of the *French* King's Death.

ON the 20th Cardinal *Portocarero* will die of a Diſſentery, with great Suſpicion of Poiſon; but the Report of his Intention to revolt to King *Charles*, will prove falſe.

JULY. The 6th of this Month a *certain General* will, by a glorious Action, recover the Reputation he loſt by former Misfortunes.

ON the 12th a *great Commander* will die a Priſoner in the Hands of his Enemies.

ON the 14th a ſhameful Diſcovery will be made of a *French* Jeſuit, giving Poiſon to a great foreign General; and when he is put to the Torture, will make wonderful Diſcoveries.

IN ſhort, this will prove a Month of great Action, if I might have Liberty to relate the Particulars.

AT Home, the Death of an old famous Senator will happen on the 15th at his Country-Houſe, worn with Age and Diſeaſes.

BUT that which will make this Month memorable to all Poſterity, is the Death of the *French* King *Lewis* the Fourteenth, after a Week's Sickneſs at *Marli*, which will happen on the 29th, about Six o' Clock in the Evening. It ſeems to be an Effect of the Gout in his Stomach, follow'd by a Flux. And in three Days after Monſieur *Chamillard* will follow his Maſter, dying ſuddenly of an Apoplexy.

IN this Month likewiſe an *Ambaſſador* will die in *London*; but I cannot aſſign the Day.

AUGUST. The Affairs of *France* will ſeem to ſuffer no Change for a while under the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Adminiſtration; but the Genius that animated the whole Machine being gone, will be the Cauſe of mighty Turns and Revolutions in the following Year. The new King makes yet little Change either in the Army or the Miniſtry; but the Libels againſt his Grandfather, that fly about his very Court, give him Uneaſineſs.

I SEE an Expreſs in mighty haſte, with Joy and Wonder in his Looks, arriving by Break of Day on the 26th of this Month, having travell'd in three Days a prodigious Journey by Land and Sea. In the Evening I hear Bells and Guns, and ſee the Blazing of a thouſand Bonfires.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

A YOUNG Admiral, of noble Birth, does likewiſe this Month gain immortal Honour by a great Atchievement.

THE Affairs of *Poland* are this Month entirely ſettled: *Auguſtus* reſigns his Pretenſions which he had again taken up for ſome Time: *Staniſlaus* is peaceably poſſeſs'd of the Throne; and the King of *Sweden* declares for the Emperor.

I CANNOT omit one particular Accident here at Home; that near the End of this Month much Miſchief will be done at *Bartholomew* Fair, by the Fall of a Booth.

SEPTEMBER. This Month begins with a very ſurprizing Fit of froſty Weather, which will laſt near twelve Days.

THE Pope having long languiſhed laſt Month, the Swellings in his Legs breaking, and the Fleſh mortifying, will die on the 11th Inſtant; and in three Weeks time, after a mighty Conteſt, be ſucceeded by a Cardinal of the *Imperial* Faction, but Native of *Tuſcany*, who is now about ſixty one Years old.

THE *French* Army acts now wholly on the Defenſive, ſtrongly fortified in their Trenches; and the young *French* King ſends Overtures for a Treaty of Peace by the Duke of *Mantua*; which, becauſe it is a Matter of State that concerns

cerns us here at Home I ſhall ſpeak no farther of it.

I SHALL add but one Prediction more, and that in myſtical Terms, which ſhall be included in a Verſe out of *Virgil.*

Alter erit jam Tethys, & altera quæ vehat Argo,
Delectos Heroas.

UPON the 25th Day of this Month, the fulfilling of this Prediction will be manifeſt to every Body.

THIS is the fartheſt I have proceeded in my Calculations for the preſent Year. I do not pretend, that theſe are all the great Events which will happen in this Period, but that thoſe I have ſet down will infallibly come to paſs. It will perhaps ſtill be objected, why I have not ſpoke more particularly of Affairs at Home, or of the Succeſs of our Armies Abroad, which I might and could very largely have done; but thoſe in Power have wiſely diſcourag'd Men from medling in publick Concerns, and I was reſolv'd by no means to give the leaſt Offence. This I will venture to ſay, That it will be a glorious Campaign for the *Allies*, wherein the *Engliſh* Forces, both by Sea and Land, will have their full Share of Honour: That her Majeſty Queen *ANNE* will continue in Health and Proſperity: And that no ill Accident will arrive to any in the chief Miniſtry.

As

As to the particular Events I have mention'd, the Readers may judge by the fulfilling of 'em, whether I am of the Level with common Aſtrologers; who with an old paultry Cant, and a few Pot-hooks for Planets, to amuſe the Vulgar, have in my Opinion, too long been ſuffer'd to abuſe the World: But an honeſt Phyſician ought not to be deſpis'd, becauſe there are ſuch Things as Mountebanks. I hope I have ſome Share of Reputation, which I would not willingly forfeit for a Frolick or Humour: And I believe no Gentleman, who reads this Paper, will look upon it to be of the ſame Caſt or Mould with the common Scribbles that are every Day hawk'd about. My Fortune has placed me above the little Regard of Scribbling for a few Pence, which I neither value nor want: Therefore let not wiſe Men too haſtily condemn this Eſſay, intended for a good Deſign, to cultivate and improve an ancient Art, long in Diſgrace, by having fallen into mean and unskilful Hands. A little Time will determine whether I have deceiv'd others, or myſelf; and I think it is no very unreaſonable Requeſt, that Men would pleaſe to ſuſpend their Judgments till then. I was once of the Opinion with thoſe who deſpiſe all Predictions from the Stars, till in the Year 1686, a Man of Quality ſhew'd me, written in his *Album*, That the moſt learned Aſtronomer, Captain *H.* aſſured him, he would never believe any thing of the Stars Influence, if there were not a great Revolution in *England* in the Year

1688

1688. Since that Time I began to have other Thoughts, and after eighteen Years diligent Study and Application, I think I have no Reaſon to repent of my Pains. I ſhall detain the Reader no longer, than to let him know, that the Account I deſign to give of next Year's Events ſhall take in the principal Affairs that happen in *Europe*; and if I be denied the Liberty of offering it to my own Country, I ſhall appeal to the learned World, by publiſhing it in *Latin*, and giving order to have it printed in *Holland*.

THE

THE

ACCOMPLISHMENT

Of the First of

Mr. BICKERSTAFF's Predictions,

BEING AN

ACCOUNT

Of the DEATH of

Mr. *Partridge*, the Almanack-maker.

Upon the 29th Instant.

In a Letter to a Person of Honour.

Written in the Year 1708.

My LORD,

IN Obedience to your Lordship's Commands, as well as to satisfy my own Curiosity, I have for some Days past enquired constantly after *Patridge* the Almanack-maker, of whom it was foretold in Mr. *Bickerstaff*'s Predictions, publish'd

publiſh'd about a Month ago, that he ſhould die the 29th Inſtant about Eleven at Night of a raging Fever. I had ſome ſort of Knowledge of him when I was employ'd in the Revenue, becauſe he uſed every Year to preſent me with his Almanack, as he did other Gentlemen, upon the ſcore of ſome little Gratuity we gave him. I ſaw him accidentally once or twice about ten Days before he died, and obſerved he began very much to droop and languiſh, tho' I hear his Friends did not ſeem to apprehend him in any Danger. About two or three Days ago he grew ill, was confin'd firſt to his Chamber, and in a few Hours after to his Bed, where Dr. *Caſe* and Mrs. *Kirleus* were ſent for to viſit, and to preſcribe to him. Upon this Intelligence I ſent thrice every Day one Servant or other to enquire after his Health; and Yeſterday, about Four in the Afternoon, Word was brought me that he was paſt Hopes: Upon which, I prevailed with myſelf to go and ſee him, partly out of Commiſeration, and, I confeſs, partly out of Curioſity. He knew me very well, ſeem'd ſurprized at my Condeſcenſion, and made me Compliments upon it as well as he could, in the Condition he was. The People about him ſaid, he had been for ſome time delirious; but when I ſaw him, he had his Underſtanding as well as ever I knew, and ſpake ſtrong and hearty, without any ſeeming Uneaſineſs or Conſtraint. After I had told him how ſorry I was to ſee him in thoſe melancholy Circumſtances, and ſaid ſome other Civilities, ſuitable to the Occaſion,

I desired him to tell me freely and ingenuously whether the Predictions Mr. *Bickerstaff* had publish'd relating to his Death, had not too much affected and worked on his Imagination. He confess'd he had often had it in his Head, but never with much Apprehension, till about a Fortnight before; since which Time it had the perpetual Possession of his Mind and Thoughts, and he did verily believe was the true natural Cause of his present Distemper: For, said he, I am thoroughly persuaded, and I think I have very good Reasons, that Mr. *Bickerstaff* spoke altogether by Guess, and knew no more what will happen this Year, than I did myself. I told him his Discourse surprized me; and I would be glad he were in a State of Health to be able to tell me what Reason he had to be convinced of Mr. *Bickerstaff*'s Ignorance. He reply'd, I am a poor ignorant Fellow, bred to a mean Trade, yet I have Sense enough to know that all Pretences of foretelling by Astrology are Deceits, for this manifest Reason, because the Wise and the Learned, who can only know whether there be any Truth in this Science, do all unanimously agree to laugh at and despise it; and none but the poor ignorant Vulgar give it any Credit, and that only upon the Word of such silly Wretches as I and my Fellows, who can hardly write or read. I then ask'd him why he had not calculated his own Nativity, to see whether it agreed with *Bickerstaff*'s Prediction? At which he shook his Head, and said, Oh! Sir, this is no Time for jesting, but for repenting those Fooleries, as I

do

do now from the very bottom of my Heart. By what I can gather from you, ſaid I, the Obſervations and Predictions you printed, with your Almanacks, were mere Impoſitions on the People. He reply'd, if it were otherwiſe I ſhould have the leſs to anſwer for. We have a common Form for all thoſe things: As to foretelling the Weather, we never meddle with that, but leave it to the Printer, who takes it out of any Old Almanack as he thinks fit; the reſt was my own Invention, to make my Almanack ſell, having a Wife to maintain, and no other Way to get my Bread; for mending old Shoes is a poor Livelihood: And (added he, ſighing) I wiſh I may not have done more Miſchief by my Phyſick than my Aſtrology; tho' I had ſome good Receipts from my Grandmother, and my own Compoſitions were ſuch as I thought could at leaſt do no hurt.

I HAD ſome other Diſcourſes with him which now I cannot call to mind; and I fear I have already tired your Lordſhip. I ſhall only add one Circumſtance, That on his Death-bed he declared himſelf a Nonconformiſt, and had a Fanatick Preacher to be his ſpiritual Guide. After half an Hour's Converſation I took my leave, being half ſtifled by the Cloſeneſs of the Room. I imagined he could not hold out long, and therefore withdrew to a little Coffee-houſe hard by, leaving a Servant at the Houſe with Orders to come immediately, and tell me, as near as he could, the Minute when *Partridge* ſhould expire, which was not above two Hours after; when looking

looking upon my Watch, I found it to be above five Minutes after ſeven; by which it is clear that Mr. *Bickerſtaff* was miſtaken almoſt four Hours in his Calculation. In the other Circumſtances he was exact enough. But whether he has not been the Cauſe of this poor Man's Death, as well as the Predictor, may be very reaſonably diſputed. However, it muſt be confeſs'd the Matter is odd enough, whether we ſhould endeavour to account for it by Chance, or the Effect of Imagination: For my own part, tho' I believe no Man has leſs Faith in theſe Matters, yet I ſhall wait with ſome Impatience, and not without ſome Expectation, the fulfilling of Mr. *Bickerſtaff*'s ſecond Prediction, that the Cardinal *De Noailles* is to die upon the fourth of *April*; and if that ſhould be verified as exactly as this of poor *Partridge*, I muſt own I ſhould be wholly ſurprized, and at a Loſs, and ſhould infallibly expect the Accompliſhment of all the reſt.

This Piece being on the ſame Subject, and very rare, we have thought fit to add it, though not written by the ſame Hand.

'Squire BICKERSTAFF *Detected*;

OR, THE

Aſtrological Impoſtor convicted,

BY

JOHN PARTRIDGE,

Student in Phyſick and Aſtrology.

IT is hard, my dear Countrymen of theſe united Nations, it is very hard, that a *Briton* born, a Proteſtant Aſtrologer, a Man of Revolution Principles, an Aſſertor of the Liberty and Property of the People, ſhould cry out,

in vain, for Juſtice againſt a *Frenchman*, a Papiſt, and an illiterate Pretender to Science; that would blaſt my Reputation, moſt inhumanly bury me alive, and defraud my native Country of thoſe Services, that, in my double Capacity, I daily offer the Publick.

WHAT great Provocations I have received, let the impartial Reader judge, and how unwillingly, even in my own Defence, I now enter the Liſts againſt Falſhood, Ignorance, and Envy: But I am exaſperated, at length, to drag out this *Cacus* from the Den of Obſcurity where he lurks, detect him by the Light of thoſe Stars he has ſo impudently traduced, and ſhew there's not a Monſter in the Skies ſo pernicious and malevolent to Mankind, as an ignorant Pretender to Phyſick and Aſtrology. I ſhall not directly fall on the many groſs Errors, nor expoſe the notorious Abſurdities of this proſtituted Libeller, till I have let the learned World fairly into the Controverſy depending, and then leave the unprejudiced to judge of the Merits and Juſtice of the Cauſe.

IT was towards the Concluſion of the Year 1707. when an impudent Pamphlet crept into the World, intitled, *Predictions*, &c. *by* Iſaac Bickerſtaff, *Eſq*;----Amongſt the many arrogant Aſſertions laid down by that lying Spirit of Divination, he was pleas'd to pitch on the Cardinal *de Noailles*, and myſelf, among many other eminent and illuſtrious Perſons, that were to die within the Compaſs of the enſuing Year; and peremptorily

peremptorily fixes the Month, Day, and Hour of our Deaths: This, I think, is ſporting with great Men, and publick Spirits, to the Scandal of Religion, and Reproach of Power; and if ſovereign Princes and Aſtrologers muſt make Diverſion for the Vulgar----Why then farewel, ſay I, to all Governments, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil. But, I thank my better Stars, I am alive to confront this falſe and audacious Predictor, and to make him rue the Hour he ever affronted a Man of Science and Reſentment. The Cardinal may take what Meaſures he pleaſes with him; as his Excellency is a Foreigner, and a Papiſt, he has no Reaſon to rely on me for his Juſtification; I ſhall only aſſure the World he is alive-----but as he was bred to Letters, and is Maſter of a Pen, let him uſe it in his own Defence. In the mean time, I ſhall preſent the Publick with a faithful Narrative of the ungenerous Treatment and hard Uſage I have received from the virulent Papers and malicious Practices of this pretended Aſtrologer.

A True and Impartial

ACCOUNT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF

Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq;

Againſt Me——

THE 28th of *March*, *Anno Dom.* 1708. being the Night this Sham-Prophet had ſo impudently fix'd for my laſt, which made little Impreſſion on myſelf; but I cannot anſwer for my whole Family; for my Wife,

Wife, with a Concern more than uſual, prevailed on me to take ſomewhat to ſweat for a Cold, and, between the Hours of eight and nine, to go to Bed: The Maid, as ſhe was warming my Bed, with a Curioſity natural to young Wenches, runs to the Window, and asks of one paſſing the Street, who the Bell told for? Dr. *Partridge*, ſays he, the famous Almanack-maker, who died ſuddenly this Evening: The poor Girl provok'd, told him he ly'd like a Raſcal, the other very ſedately reply'd, the Sexton had ſo inform'd him, and if falſe, he was to blame for impoſing upon a Stranger. She ask'd a ſecond, and a third, as they paſs'd, and every one was in the ſame Tone. Now I don't ſay theſe were Accomplices to a certain Aſtrological 'Squire, that one *Bickerſtaff* might be ſauntring thereabouts; becauſe I will aſſert nothing here but what I dare atteſt, and plain matter of Fact. My Wife at this fell into a violent Diſorder; and I muſt own I was a little diſcompos'd at the Oddneſs of the Accident. In the mean time, one knocks at my Door, *Betty* runs down, and opening, finds a ſober grave Perſon, who modeſtly inquires if this was Dr. *Partridge*'s? She taking him for ſome cautious City-Patient, that came at that time for Privacy, ſhews him into the Dining-Room. As ſoon as I could compoſe myſelf, I went to him, and was ſurpriz'd to find my Gentleman mounted on a Table with a two-foot Rule in his hand, meaſuring my Walls, and taking the Dimenſions of the Room. Pray, Sir, ſays I, not to interrupt you, have you any Buſineſs

ſineſs with me? Only, Sir, replies he, order the Girl to bring me a better Light, for this is but a very dim one. Sir, ſays I, my Name is *Partridge:* Oh! the Doctor's Brother, belike, cries he; the Stair-Caſe, I believe, and theſe two Apartments hung in cloſe Mourning will be ſufficient, and only a Strip of Bayes round the other Rooms. The Doctor muſt needs die rich, he had great Dealings in his Way for many Years; if he had no Family-Coat, you had as good uſe the Scutcheons of the Company, they are as Showiſh, and will look as Magnificent as if he was deſcended from the Blood-Royal. With that, I aſſumed a great Air of Authority, and demanded who employ'd him, or how he came there? Why I was ſent, Sir, by the Company of Undertakers, ſays he, and they were employ'd by the honeſt Gentleman, who is Executor to the good Doctor departed; and our raſcally Porter I believe is fallen faſt aſleep with the black Cloth and Sconces, or he had been here, and we might have been tacking up by this time. Sir, ſays I, pray be adviſed by a Friend, and make the beſt of your ſpeed out of my Doors, for I hear my Wife's Voice (which, by the by, is pretty diſtinguiſhable) and in that Corner of the Room ſtands a good Cudgel, which ſomebody has felt e'er now; if that light in her Hands, and ſhe know the Buſineſs you came about; without conſulting the Stars, I can aſſure you it will be employ'd very much to the Detriment of your Perſon. Sir, cries he, bowing with great Civility, I perceive extreme Grief for the Loſs of the Doctor diſ-

orders

orders you a little at preſent, but early in the Morning I'll wait on you, with all neceſſary Materials. Now I mention no Mr. *Bickerſtaff*, nor do I ſay, that a certain Star-gazing 'Squire has been playing my Executor before his time; but I leave the World to judge, and if it puts Things and Things fairly together, it won't be much wide of the Mark.

WELL, once more I get my Doors clos'd, and prepare for Bed, in hopes of a little Repoſe after ſo many ruffling Adventures; juſt as I was putting out my Light in order to it, another bounces as hard as he can knock; I open the Window, and ask who's there, and what he wants? I am *Ned* the *Sexton*, replies he, and come to know whether the Doctor left any Orders for a Funeral Sermon, and where he is to be laid, and whether his Grave is to be plain or brick'd? Why, Sirrah, ſays I, you know me well enough; you know I am not dead, and how dare you affront me after this manner? Alack-a-day, replies the Fellow, why 'tis in Print, and the whole Town knows you are dead; why, there's Mr. *White* the Joiner is but fitting Screws to your Coffin, he'll be here with it in an inſtant; he was afraid you would have wanted it before this Time. Sirrah, Sirrah, ſays I, you ſhall know to-morrow to your Coſt that I am alive, and alive like to be. Why 'tis ſtrange, Sir, ſays he, you ſhould make ſuch a Secret of your Death to us that are your Neighbours; it looks as if you had a Deſign to defraud the Church of

its Dues; and let me tell you, for one that has lived ſo long, by the Heavens that's unhandſomely done. Hiſt, hiſt, ſays another Rogue that ſtood by him, away, Doctor, in your Flannel Gear as faſt as you can; for here's a whole Pack of Diſmals coming to you with their black Equipage; and how indecent will it look for you to ſtand fright'ning Folks at your Window, when you ſhould have been in your Coffin this three Hours? In ſhort, what with Undertakers, Embalmers, Joiners, Sextons, and your damn'd Elegy-Hawkers, upon a late Practitioner in Phyſick and Aſtrology, I got not one Wink of Sleep that Night, nor ſcarce a Moment's Reſt ever ſince. Now, I doubt not but this villanous 'Squire has the Impudence to aſſert, that theſe are entirely Strangers to him; he, good Man, knows nothing of the Matter, and honeſt *Iſaac Bickerſtaff*, I warrant you, is more a Man of Honour, than to be an Accomplice with a Pack of Raſcals, that walk the Streets on Nights, and diſturb good People in their Beds; but he is out, if he thinks the whole World is blind; for there is one *John Partridge* can ſmell a Knave as far as *Grubſtreet*,-----though he lies in the moſt exalted Garret, and writes himſelf 'Squire:------ But I'll keep my Temper, and proceed in the Narration.

I could not ſtir out of doors for the Space of three Months after this, but preſently one comes up to me in the Street; Mr. *Partridge*, that Coffin you was laſt buried in I have not been yet paid

paid for: Doctor, cries another Dog, How d'ye think People can live by making of Graves for nothing? Next time you die, you may e'en toll out the Bell yourſelf for *Ned.* A third Rogue tips me by the Elbow, and wonders how I have the Conſcience to ſneak abroad, without paying my Funeral Expences. Lord, ſays one, I durſt have ſwore that was honeſt Dr. *Partridge*, my old Friend; but poor Man he is gone. I beg your pardon, ſays another, you look ſo like my old Acquaintance that I uſed to conſult on ſome private Occaſions; but alack, he's gone the Way of all Fleſh.------Look, look, look, cries a third, after a competent Space of ſtaring at me; wou'd not one think our Neighbour, the Almanack-maker, was crept out of his Grave to take t'other Peep at the Stars in this World, and ſhew how much he is improv'd in Fortune-telling by having taken a Journey to the other?

NAY, the very Reader of our Pariſh, a good ſober, diſcreet Perſon, has ſent two or three times for me to come and be buried decently, or ſend him ſufficient Reaſons to the contrary; or, if I have been interr'd in any other Pariſh, to produce my Certificate as the Act requires. My poor Wife is almoſt run diſtracted with being call'd Widow *Partridge*, when ſhe knows it's falſe; and once a Term ſhe is cited into the Court, to take out Letters of Adminiſtration. But the greateſt Grievance is, a paultry Quack, that takes up my Calling juſt under my Noſe, and in his printed Directions with *N. B.* — ſays,

He lives in the Houſe of the late ingenious Mr. *John Partridge*, an eminent Practitioner in Leather, Phyſick, and Aſtrology.

BUT to ſhew how far the wicked Spirit of Envy, Malice and Reſentment can hurry ſome Men, my nameleſs old Perſecutor had provided me a Monument at the Stone-Cutter's, and would have erected it in the Pariſh-Church; and this Piece of notorious and expenſive Villany had actually ſucceeded, had I not uſed my utmoſt Intereſt with the Veſtry, where it was carried at laſt but by two Voices, that I am ſtill alive. That Stratagem failing, out comes a long ſable Elegy, bedeck'd with Hour-glaſſes, Mattocks, Sculls, Spades and Skeletons, with an Epitaph as confidently written to abuſe me, and my Profeſſion, as if I had been under Ground theſe twenty Years.

AND after ſuch barbarous Treatment as this, can the World blame me, when I ask, What is become of the Freedom of an *Engliſhman*? And where is the Liberty and Property that my Old Glorious Friend came over to aſſert? We have drove Popery out of the Nation, and ſent Slavery to foreign Climes. The Arts only remain in Bondage, when a Man of Science and Character ſhall be openly inſulted in the midſt of the many uſeful Services he is daily paying the Publick. Was it ever heard, even in *Turkey* or *Algiers*, that a State-Aſtrologer was banter'd out of his Life by an ignorant Impoſtor, or bawl'd out

out of the World by a Pack of villanous, deep-mouth'd Hawkers? Though I print Almanacks, and publiſh Advertiſements; though I produce Certificates under the Miniſters and Church-Wardens Hands I am alive, and atteſt the ſame on Oath at Quarter-Seſſions, out comes a full and true Relation of the Death and Interment of *John Partridge*; Truth is bore down, Atteſtations neglected, the Teſtimony of ſober Perſons deſpiſed, and a Man is look'd upon by his Neighbours, as if he had been ſeven Years dead, and is buried alive in the midſt of his Friends and Acquaintance.

Now can any Man of common Senſe think it conſiſtent with the Honour of my Profeſſion, and not much beneath the Dignity of a Philoſopher, to ſtand bawling before his own Door --- Alive! Alive! Ho! The famous Dr. *Partridge!* No Counterfeit, but all alive!---- As if I had the twelve Celeſtial Monſters of the *Zodiack* to ſhew within, or was forced for a Livelihood to turn Retailer to *May* and *Bartholomew* Fairs. Therefore, if her Majeſty would but graciouſly be pleas'd to think a Hardſhip of this nature worthy her Royal Conſideration, and the next Parl----m--t, in their great Wiſdom caſt but an Eye towards the deplorable Caſe of their old *Philomath*, that annually beſtows his poetical good Wiſhes on them, I am ſure there is one *Iſaac Bickerſtaff*, Eſq; would ſoon be truſs'd up for his bloody Predictions, and putting good Subjects in terror of their Lives: And that henceforward

to murder a Man by way of Prophecy, and bury him in a printed Letter, either to a Lord or Commoner, ſhall as legally entitle him to the preſent Poſſeſſion of *Tyburn*, as if he robb'd on the Highway, or cut your Throat in Bed.

I SHALL demonſtrate to the Judicious, that *France* and *Rome* are at the Bottom of this horrid Conſpiracy againſt me; and that *Culprit* aforeſaid is a Popiſh Emiſſary, has paid his Viſits to St. *Germains*, and is now in the Meaſures of *Lewis* XIV. That in attempting my Reputation, there is a general Maſſacre of Learning deſign'd in theſe Realms: And through my Sides there is a Wound given to all the Proteſtant Almanack-makers in the Univerſe.

Vivat Regina

A VIN-

A VINDICATION OF *Iſaac Bickerſtaff*, Eſq; AGAINST

What is objected to him by Mr. PARTRIDGE in his Almanack for the preſent Year 1709.

By the ſaid ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Eſq;

Written in the Year 1709.

MR. *Partridge* hath been lately pleaſed to treat me after a very rough Manner, in *that which is called*, His Almanack for the preſent Year: Such Uſage is very undecent from *one Gentleman to another*, and does not at all contribute to the Diſcovery of Truth, which

which ought to be the great End in all Diſputes of the *Learned*. To call a Man *Fool* and *Villain*, and *impudent Fellow*, only for differing from him in a Point merely ſpeculative, is, in my humble Opinion, a very improper Style for a Perſon of *his Education*. I appeal to the *learned World*, whether in my laſt Year's Predictions, I gave him the leaſt Provocation for ſuch unworthy Treatment. Philoſophers have differed in all Ages, but the diſcreeteſt among them have always differed as became Philoſophers. Scurrility and Paſſion, in a Controverſy among *Scholars*, is juſt ſo much of nothing to the Purpoſe, and at beſt, a tacit Confeſſion of a weak Cauſe: My Concern is not ſo much for my own Reputation, as that of the *Republick of Letters*, which Mr. *Partridge* hath endeavoured to wound thro' my Sides. If Men of publick Spirit muſt be ſupercilioufly treated for their ingenious Attempts, how will true uſeful Knowledge be ever advanced? I wiſh Mr. *Partridge* knew the Thoughts which *foreign Univerſities* have conceived of his ungenerous Proceedings with me; but I am too tender of his Reputation to publiſh them to the World. That Spirit of Envy and Pride, which blaſts ſo many riſing Genius's in our Nation, is yet unknown among *Profeſſors* abroad: The Neceſſity of juſtifying myſelf, will excuſe my Vanity, when I tell the Reader, that I have near a hundred *honorary* Letters from ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, (ſome as far as *Muſcovy*) in Praiſe of my Performance. Beſides ſeveral others, which, as I have been credibly inform'd, were

open'd

open'd in the Poſt-Office, and never ſent me. 'Tis true, the *Inquiſition* in *Portugal* was pleaſed to burn my Predictions, and condemn the Author and Readers of them; but I hope at the ſame time, it will be conſider'd in how deplorable a State *Learning* lies at preſent in that Kingdom: And with the profoundeſt Veneration for *crown'd Heads*, I will preſume to add, that it a little concerned *His Majeſty of Portugal*, to interpoſe his Authority in behalf of a *Scholar* and a *Gentleman*, the Subject of a Nation with which he is now in ſo ſtrict an Alliance. But the other Kingdoms and States of *Europe* have treated me with more Candor and Generoſity. If I had leave to print the *Latin* Letters tranſmitted to me from foreign Parts, they would fill a Volume, and be a full Defence againſt all that Mr. *Partridge*, or his Accomplices of the *Portugal Inquiſition*, will be ever able to object; who, by the way, are the only Enemies my Predictions have ever met with at Home or Abroad. But I hope I know better what is due to the Honour of a *learned Correſpondence*, in ſo tender a Point. Yet ſome of thoſe illuſtrious Perſons will perhaps excuſe me from tranſcribing a Paſſage or two in my own Vindication. The moſt learned Monſieur *Leibnits* thus addreſſes to me his third Letter: *Illuſtriſſimo Bickerſtaffio Aſtrologiæ inſtauratori*, &c. Monſieur *le Clerc* quoting my Predictions in a Treatiſe he publiſhed laſt Year, is pleaſed to ſay, *Ità nuperrimè Bickerſtaffius magnum illud Angliæ ſidus.* Another great Profeſſor writing of me, has theſe Words:

Bickerſtaffius, nobilis Anglus, Aſtrologorum hujuſce Sæculi facilè Princeps. Signior *Magliabecchi*, the *Great Duke*'s famous Library-Keeper, ſpends almoſt his whole Letter in Compliments and Praiſes. 'Tis true, the renowned *Profeſſor* of Aſtronomy at *Utrecht*, ſeems to differ from me in one Article; but it is after the modeſt manner that becomes a Philoſopher; as, *Pace tanti viri dixerim:* And *Page* 55, he ſeems to lay the Error upon the Printer, (as indeed it ought) and ſays, *vel forſan error Typographi, cum alioquin Bickerſtaffius vir doctiſſimus*, &c.

If Mr. *Partridge* had followed this Example in the Controverſy between us, he might have ſpared me the Trouble of juſtifying myſelf in ſo publick a manner. I believe few Men are readier to own their Errors than I, or more thankful to thoſe who will pleaſe to inform me of them. But it ſeems this Gentleman, inſtead of encouraging the Progreſs of his own Art, is pleaſed to look upon all Attempts of that kind as an Invaſion of his Province. He has been indeed ſo wiſe, to make no Objection againſt the Truth of my Predictions, except in one ſingle Point, relating to himſelf: And to demonſtrate how much Men are blinded by their own Partiality, I do ſolemnly aſſure the Reader, that he is the only Perſon from whom I ever heard that Objection offer'd; which Conſideration alone, I think, will take off all its Weight.

With

WITH my utmoſt Endeavours, I have not been able to trace above two Objections ever made againſt the Truth of my laſt Year's Prophecies: The firſt was of a *French* Man, who was pleaſed to publiſh to the World, that *the Cardinal* de Noailles *was ſtill alive, notwithſtanding the pretended Prophecy of Monſieur* Biquerſtaffe: But how far a *Frenchman*, a *Papiſt*, and an *Enemy* is to be believed in his own Caſe againſt an *Engliſh Proteſtant*, who is *true to the Government*, I ſhall leave to the candid and impartial Reader.

THE other Objection is the unhappy Occaſion of this Diſcourſe, and relates to an Article in my Predictions, which foretold the Death of Mr *Partridge*, to happen on *March* 29, 1708. This he is pleaſed to contradict abſolutely in the Almanack he has publiſhed for the preſent Year, and in that ungentlemanly Manner (pardon the Expreſſion) as I have above related. In that Work, he very roundly aſſerts, That he *is not only now alive, but was likewiſe alive upon th t very 29th of* March, *when I had foretold* he *ſhould die.* This is the Subject of the preſent Controverſy between us; which I deſign to handle with all Brevity, Perſpicuity, and Calmneſs: In this Diſpute, I am ſenſible, the Eyes not only of *England*, but of all *Europe*, will be upon us: And the *Learned* in every Country will, I doubt not, take part on that Side where they find moſt Appearance of Reaſon and Truth.

WITH-

WITHOUT entring into Criticiſms of *Chronology* about the Hour of his Death, I ſhall only prove, that Mr. *Partridge* is not alive. And my firſt Argument is thus: Above a thouſand Gentlemen having bought his Almanacks for this Year, merely to find what he ſaid againſt me; at every Line they read, they would lift up their Eyes, and cry out, betwixt Rage and Laughter, *They were ſure no Man alive ever writ ſuch damn'd Stuff as this.* Neither did I ever hear that Opinion diſputed: So that Mr. *Partridge* lies under a *Dilemma*, either of diſowning his Almanack, or allowing himſelf to be *no Man alive*. But now if an *uninformed* Carcaſs walks ſtill about, and is pleaſed to call itſelf *Partridge*, Mr. *Bickerſtaff* does not think himſelf any way anſwerable for that. Neither had the ſaid Carcaſs any right to beat the poor Boy, who happen'd to paſs by it in the Street, crying, *A full and true Account of Dr.* Partridge's *Death*, &c.

SECONDLY, Mr. *Partridge* pretends to tell Fortunes, and recover ſtolen Goods; which all the Pariſh ſays he muſt do by converſing with the Devil, and other evil Spirits: And no wiſe Man will ever allow he could converſe perſonally with either, till after he was dead.

THIRDLY, I will plainly prove him to be dead, out of his own Almanack for this Year, and from the very Paſſage which he produces to make

make us think him alive. He there ſays, *He is not only now alive, but was alſo alive upon that very 29th of* March, *which I foretold* he *ſhould die on:* By this, he declares his Opinion, that a Man may be alive now, who was not alive a Twelvemonth ago. And indeed, there lies the Sophiſtry of his Argument. He dares not aſſert, he was alive ever ſince that 29th of *March*, but that he *is now alive, and was ſo on that Day:* I grant the latter; for he did not die till Night, as appears by the printed Account of his Death, in a *Letter to a Lord*; and whether he is ſince revived, I leave the World to judge. This indeed is perfect Cavilling, and I am aſhamed to dwell any longer upon it.

FOURTHLY, I will appeal to Mr. *Partridge* himſelf, whether it be probable I could have been ſo indiſcreet, to begin my Predictions with the *only* Falſhood that ever was pretended to be in them; and this in an Affair at Home, where I had ſo many Opportunities to be exact; and muſt have given ſuch Advantages againſt me to a Perſon of Mr. *Partridge*'s Wit and Learning, who, if he could poſſibly have rais'd one ſingle Objection more againſt the Truth of my Prophecies, would hardly have ſpared me.

AND here I muſt take Occaſion to reprove the abovementioned Writer of the Relation of Mr. *Partridge*'s Death, in a *Letter to a Lord*; who was pleaſed to tax me with a Miſtake of *four whole Hours* in my Calculation of that Event.

vent. I must confess, this Censure pronounced with an Air of Certainty, in a Matter that so nearly concerned me, and by a *grave judicious Author*, moved me not a little. But tho' I was at that Time out of Town, yet several of my Friends, whose Curiosity had led them to be exactly informed (for as to my own part, having no Doubt at all in the Matter, I never once thought of it) assured me I computed to something under half an Hour; which (I speak my private Opinion) is an Error of no very great Magnitude, that Men should raise Clamour about it. I shall only say, it would not be amiss, if that Author would henceforth be more tender of other Men's Reputation as well as his own. It is well there were no more Mistakes of that kind; if there had, I presume he would have told me of them with as little Ceremony.

THERE is one Objection against Mr. *Partridge*'s Death, which I have sometimes met with, though indeed very slightly offered, That he still continues to write Almanacks. But this is no more than what is common to all that Profession; *Gadbury*, *Poor Robin*, *Dove*, *Wing*, and several others, do yearly publish their Almanacks though several of them have been dead since before the *Revolution*. Now the natural Reason of this I take to be, that whereas it is the Privilege of other Authors *to live after their Deaths*; Almanack-makers are alone excluded, because their Dissertations treating only upon the Minutes as they pass, become useless as those go off. In con-

conſideration of which, *Time*, whoſe *Regiſters* they are, gives them a Leaſe in Reverſion, to continue their Works after their Death.

I SHOULD not have given the Publick or myſelf the Trouble of this Vindication, if my Name had not been made uſe of by ſeveral Perſons, to whom I never lent it; one of which, a few Days ago, was pleaſed to father on me a new Set of Predictions. But I think thoſe are Things too ſerious to be trifled with. It grieved me to the Heart, when I ſaw my Labours, which had coſt me ſo much Thought and Watching, bawl'd about by common Hawkers, which I only intended for the weighty Conſideration of the graveſt Perſons. This prejudiced the World ſo much at firſt, that ſeveral of my Friends had the Aſſurance to ask me, Whether I were in Jeſt? To which I only anſwered coldly, *That the Event would ſhew.* But it is the Talent of our Age and Nation, to turn Things of the greateſt Importance into Ridicule. When the End of the Year had *verified all my Predictions*, out comes Mr. *Partridge*'s Almanack, diſputing the Point of his Death; ſo that I am employed, like the General who was forced to kill his Enemies twice over, whom a *Necromancer* had raiſed to Life. If Mr. *Partridge* has practiſed the ſame Experiment upon himſelf, and be again alive, long may he continue ſo; That does not in the leaſt contradict my Veracity: But I think I have clearly proved, by *invincible Demonſtration*,

monſtration, that he died at fartheſt within half an Hour of the Time I foretold, and not four Hours ſooner, as the abovementioned Author, in his Letter to a Lord, hath malicioufly ſuggeſted, with Deſign to blaſt my Credit, by charging me with ſo groſs a Miſtake.

A PRO-

A

PROPOSAL

For *Correcting*, *Improving*, and *Aſcertaining* the

Engliſh TONGUE:

IN A

LETTER to the Moſt Honourable ROBERT Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*, Lord High Treaſurer of *Great Britain*.

To the Moſt Honourable ROBERT Earl of OXFORD, &c.

My LORD,

WHAT I had the Honour of mentioning to your Lordſhip ſome time ago in Converſation, was not a new Thought, juſt then ſtarted by Accident or Occaſion, but the Reſult of long Reflection, and I have been confirmed in my Sentiments by the Opinion

nion of ſome very judicious Perſons, with whom I conſulted. They all agreed, That nothing would be of greater Uſe towards the Improvement of Knowledge and Politeneſs, than ſome effectual Method for *Correcting*, *Enlarging*, and *Aſcertaining* our Language; and they think it a Work very poſſible to be compaſſed, under the Protection of a Prince, the Countenance and Encouragement of a Miniſtry, and the Care of proper Perſons choſen for ſuch an Undertaking. I was glad to find your Lordſhip's Anſwer in ſo different a Stile, from what hath been commonly made uſe of on the like Occaſions, for ſome Years paſt, *That all ſuch Thoughts muſt be deferred to a Time of Peace:* A Topick which ſome have carried ſo far, that they would not have us by any means think of preſerving our Civil or Religious Conſtitution, becauſe we were engaged in a War abroad. It will be among the diſtinguiſhing Marks of your Miniſtry, my Lord, that you had a Genius above all ſuch Regards, and that no reaſonable Propoſal for the Honour, the Advantage, or the Ornament of your Country, however foreign to your more immediate Office, was ever neglected by you. I confeſs, the Merit of this Candour and Condeſcenſion is very much leſſened, becauſe your Lordſhip hardly leaves us room to offer our good Wiſhes, removing all our Difficulties, and ſupplying our Wants, faſter than the moſt viſionary Projector can adjuſt his Schemes. And therefore, my Lord, the Deſign of this Paper is not ſo much to offer you *Ways and Means*, as to

complain of a *Grievance*, the redreſſing of which is to be your own Work as much as that of paying the *Nation*'s *Debts*, or opening a Trade into the *South-Sea*; and tho' not of ſuch immediate Benefit, as either of theſe, or any other of your glorious Actions, yet perhaps in future Ages not leſs to your Honour.

My Lord, I do here, in the Name of all the learned and polite Perſons of the Nation, complain to your Lordſhip as *Firſt Miniſter*, that our Language is extremely imperfect; that its daily Improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily Corruptions; that the Pretenders to poliſh and refine it, have chiefly multiplied Abuſes and Abſurdities; and, that in many Inſtances, it offends againſt every Part of Grammar. But leſt your Lordſhip ſhould think my Cenſure too ſevere, I ſhall take leave to be more particular.

I believe your Lordſhip will agree with me in the Reaſon, Why our Language is leſs refined than thoſe of *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*. 'Tis plain, that the *Latin* Tongue, in its Purity, was never in this Iſland; towards the Conqueſt of which, few or no Attempts were made till the Time of *Claudius*; neither was that Language ever ſo vulgar in *Britain*, as it is known to have been in *Gaul* and *Spain*. Further, we find that the *Roman* Legions here, were at length all recalled to help their Country againſt the *Goths*, and other barbarous Invaders. Mean time, the *Britains* left to ſhift for themſelves, and daily harraſſed

raſſed by cruel Inroads from the *Picts*, were forced to call in the *Saxons* for their Defence; who conſequently reduced the greateſt Part of the Iſland to their own Power, drove the *Britains* into the moſt remote and mountainous Parts, and the reſt of the Country in Cuſtoms, Religion, and Language, became wholly *Saxon*. This I take to be the Reaſon why there are more *Latin* Words remaining in the *Britiſh* Tongue than in the old *Saxon*; which, excepting ſome few Variations in the Orthography, is the ſame in moſt original Words with our preſent *Engliſh*, as well as with the *German* and other *Northern* Dialects.

EDWARD *the Confeſſor* having lived long in *France*, appears to be the firſt who introduced any Mixture of the *French* Tongue with the *Saxon*; the Court affecting what the Prince was fond of, and others taking it up for a Faſhion, as it is now with us. *William the Conqueror* proceeded much further; bringing over with him vaſt Numbers of that Nation, ſcattering them in every Monaſtery, giving them great Quantities of Land, directing all Pleadings to be in that Language, and endeavouring to make it univerſal in the Kingdom. This, at leaſt, is the Opinion generally received: But your Lordſhip hath fully convinced me, that the *French* Tongue made yet a greater Progreſs here under *Harry the Second*, who had large Territories on that Continent, both from his Father and his Wife, made frequent Journeys and Expeditions thither, and

and was always attended with a Number of his Countrymen, Retainers at his Court. For ſome Centuries after, there was a conſtant Intercourſe between *France* and *England*, by the Dominions we poſſeſſed there, and the Conqueſts we made; ſo that our Language, between two and three hundred Years ago, ſeems to have had a greater Mixture with *French* than at preſent; many Words having been afterwards rejected, and ſome ſince the Time of *Spencer*; although we have ſtill retained not a few, which have been long antiquated in *France*. I could produce ſeveral Inſtances of both Kinds, if it were of any Uſe or Entertainment.

To examine into the ſeveral Circumſtances by which the Language of a Country may be altered, would force me to enter into a wide Field. I ſhall only obſerve, That the *Latin*, the *French*, and the *Engliſh*, ſeem to have undergone the ſame fortune. The firſt, from the Day of *Romulus* to thoſe of *Julius Cæſar*, ſuffered perpetual Changes; and by what we meet in thoſe Authors who occaſionally ſpeak on that Subject, as well as from certain Fragments of old Laws, it is manifeſt that the *Latin*, three hundred Years before *Tully*, was as unintelligible in his Time, as the *Engliſh* and *French* of the ſame Period are now; and theſe two have changed as much ſince *William the Conqueror* (which is but little leſs than ſeven hundred Years) as the *Latin* appears to have done in the like Term. Whether our Language or the *French* will decline as faſt as

the *Roman* did, is a Queſtion that would perhaps admit more Debate than it is worth. There were many Reaſons for the Corruptions of the laſt: As, the Change of their Government to a Tyranny which ruined the Study of Eloquence, there being no further Uſe or Encouragement for popular Orators: Their giving not only the Freedom of the City, but Capacity for Employments, to ſeveral Towns in *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, and other diſtant Parts, as far as *Aſia*; which brought a great Number of foreign Pretenders into *Rome:* The ſlaviſh Diſpoſition of the Senate and People, by which the Wit and Eloquence of the Age were wholly turned into Panegyrick, the moſt barren of all Subjects; the great Corruption of Manners, and Introduction of foreign Luxury, with foreign Terms to expreſs it, with ſeveral others that might be aſſigned; not to mention thoſe Invaſions from the *Goths* and *Vandals*, which are too obvious to inſiſt on.

THE *Roman* Language arrived at great Perfection before it began to decay: And the *French* for theſe laſt fifty Years hath been poliſhing as much as it will bear, and appears to be declining by the natural Inconſtancy of that People, and the Affectation of ſome late Authors, to introduce and multiply *Cant* Words, which is the moſt ruinous Corruption in any Language. *La Bruyere*, a late celebrated Writer among them, makes uſe of many new Terms which are not to be found in any of the common Dictionaries before his Time. But the *Engliſh* Tongue is not

not arrived to ſuch a Degree of Perfection, as to make us apprehend any Thoughts of its Decay; and if it were once refined to a certain Standard, perhaps there might be Ways found out to fix it for ever, or at leaſt till we are invaded and made a Conqueſt by ſome other State; and even then our beſt Writings might probably be preſerved with Care, and grow into Eſteem, and the Authors have a Chance for Immortality.

BUT without ſuch great Revolutions as theſe (to which we are, I think, leſs ſubject than Kingdoms upon the Continent) I ſee no abſolute Neceſſity why any Language ſhould be perpetually changing; for we find many Examples to the contrary. From *Homer* to *Plutarch*, are above a thouſand Years; ſo long at leaſt the Purity of the *Greek* Tongue may be allowed to laſt, and we know not how far before. The *Grecians* ſpread their Colonies round all the Coaſts of *Aſia Minor*, even to the *Northern* Parts, lying towards the *Euxine*; in every Iſland of the *Ægæan* Sea, and ſeveral others in the *Mediterranean*; where the Language was preſerved entire for many Ages, after they themſelves became Colonies to *Rome*, and till they were overrun by the barbarous Nations, upon the Fall of that Empire. The *Chineſe* have Books in their Language above two thouſand Years old, neither have the frequent Conqueſts of the *Tartars* been able to alter it. The *German*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian*, have admitted few or no Changes for ſome Ages paſt. The other Languages of *Europe* I

know nothing of, neither is there any occaſion to conſider them.

HAVING taken this Compaſs, I return to thoſe Conſiderations upon our own Language, which I would humbly offer your Lordſhip. The Period wherein the *Engliſh* Tongue received moſt Improvement, I take to commence with the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and to conclude with the Great Rebellion in Forty-two. 'Tis true, there was a very ill Taſte both of Style and Wit, which prevailed under King *James* the Firſt, but that ſeems to have been corrected in the firſt Years of his Succeſſor, who, among many other Qualifications of an excellent Prince, was a great Pattern of Learning. From the Civil War to this preſent Time, I am apt to doubt whether the Corruptions in our Language have not at leaſt equalled the Refinements of it; and theſe Corruptions very few of the beſt Authors in our Age have wholly eſcaped. During the Uſurpation, ſuch an Infuſion of Enthuſiaſtick Jargon prevailed in every Writing, as was not ſhaken off in many Years after. To this ſucceeded that Licentiouſneſs which enter'd with the *Reſtoration*, and from infecting our Religion and Morals, fell to corrupt our Language, which laſt was not like to be much improved by thoſe who at that time made up the Court of King *Charles* the Second; either ſuch who had followed him in his Baniſhment; or who had been altogether converſant in the Dialect of thoſe *Fanatick Times*; or young Men, who had been educated in the

ſame

ſame Company; ſo that the *Court*, which uſed to be the Standard of Propriety, and Correctneſs of Speech, was then, and, I think, hath ever ſince continued the worſt School in *England* for that Accompliſhment; and ſo will remain, till better Care be taken in the Education of our young Nobility, that they may ſet out into the World with ſome Foundation of Literature, in order to qualify them for Patterns of Politeneſs. The Conſequence of this Defect upon our Language, may appear from the Plays, and other Compoſitions, written for Entertainment within fifty Years paſt; filled with a Succeſſion of affected Phraſes, and new conceited Words, either borrowed from the current Style of the Court, or from thoſe, who, under the Character of Men of Wit and Pleaſure, pretended to give the Law. Many of theſe Refinements have already been long antiquated, and are now hardly intelligible; which is no Wonder, when they were the Product only of Ignorance and Caprice.

I HAVE never known this great Town without one or more *Dunces* of Figure, who had Credit enough to give Riſe to ſome new Word, and propagate it in moſt Converſations, tho' it had neither Humour nor Significancy. If it ſtruck the preſent Taſte, it was ſoon transferred into the Plays and current Scribbles of the Week, and became an Addition to our Language; while the Men of Wit and Learning, inſtead of early obviating ſuch Corruptions, were too often ſeduced to imitate and comply with them.

THERE is another Set of Men who have contributed very much to the ſpoiling of the *Engliſh* Tongue; I mean the Poets, from the Time of the Reſtoration. Theſe Gentlemen, although they could not be inſenſible how much our Language was already overſtocked with Monoſyllables, yet to ſave Time and Pains, introduced that barbarous Cuſtom of abbreviating Words, to fit them to the Meaſure of their Verſes; and this they have frequently done, ſo very injudiciouſly, as to form ſuch harſh unharmonious Sounds, that none but a *Northern* Ear could endure: They have joined the moſt obdurate Conſonants without one intervening Vowel, only to ſhorten a Syllable: And their Taſte in time became ſo depraved, that what was at firſt a poetical Licence, not to be juſtified, they made their Choice, alledging, that the Words pronounced at length, ſounded faint and languid. This was a Pretence to take up the ſame Cuſtom in Proſe; ſo that moſt of the Books we ſee now adays, are full of thoſe Manglings and Abbreviations. Inſtances of this Abuſe are innumerable: What does your Lordſhip think of the Words, *Drudg'd*, *Diſturb'd*, *Rebuk'd*, *Fledg'd*, and a thouſand others, every where to be met with in Proſe as well as Verſe? Where, by leaving out a Vowel to ſave a Syllable, we form ſo jarring a ſound, and ſo difficult to utter, that I have often wonder'd how it could ever obtain.

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ANOTHER Cauſe (and perhaps borrowed from the former) which hath contributed not a little to the maiming of our Language, is a fooliſh Opinion, advanced of late Years, that we ought to ſpell exactly as we ſpeak; which beſide the obvious Inconvenience of utterly deſtroying our Etymology, would be a Thing we ſhould never ſee an End of. Not only the ſeveral Towns and Counties of *England* have a different way of pronouncing, but even here in *London*, they clip their Words after one Manner about the Court, another in the City, and a third in the Suburbs: and in a few Years, it is probable, will all differ from themſelves, as Fancy or Faſhion ſhall direct: All which reduced to Writing, would entirely confound Orthography. Yet many People are ſo fond of this Conceit, that it is ſometimes a difficult Matter to read modern Books and Pamphlets; where the Words are ſo curtailed, and varied from their original Spelling, that whoever hath been uſed to plain *Engliſh*, will hardly know them by ſight.

SEVERAL young Men at the Univerſities, terribly poſſeſſed with the Fear of Pedantry, run into a worſe Extream, and think all Politeneſs to conſiſt in reading the daily Traſh ſent down to them from hence: This they call *knowing the World*, and *reading Men and Manners*. Thus furniſhed they come up to Town, reckon all their Errors for Accompliſhments, borrow the neweſt Set of Phraſes; and if they take a Pen

into their Hands, all the odd Words they have picked up in a Coffee-Houſe, or a Gaming Ordinary, are produced as Flowers of Style; and the Orthography refined to the utmoſt. To this we owe thoſe monſtrous Productions, which under the Names of *Trips*, *Spies*, *Amuſements*, and other conceited Appellations, have over-run us for ſome Years paſt. To this we owe that ſtrange Race of Wits, who tell us, they write to the *Humour of the Age*. And I wiſh I could ſay, theſe quaint Fopperies were wholly abſent from graver Subjects. In ſhort, I would undertake to ſhew your Lordſhip ſeveral Pieces, where the Beauties of this kind are ſo predominant, that with all your Skill in Languages, you could never be able to read or underſtand them.

BUT I am very much miſtaken, if many of theſe falſe Refinements among us do not ariſe from a Principle which would quite deſtroy their Credit, if it were well underſtood and conſider'd. For I am afraid, my Lord, that with all the real good Qualities of our Country, we are naturally not very polite. This perpetual Diſpoſition to ſhorten our Words, by retrenching the Vowels, is nothing elſe but a Tendency to lapſe into the Barbarity of thoſe *Northern* Nations from whom we are deſcended, and whoſe Languages labour all under the ſame Defect. For it is worthy our Obſervation, that the *Spaniards*, the *French*, and the *Italians*, although derived from the ſame *Northern* Anceſtors with ourſelves, are, with the utmoſt Difficulty, taught to pronounce our Words, which

which the *Swedes* and *Danes*, as well as the *Germans* and the *Dutch*, attain to with eaſe, becauſe our Syllables reſemble theirs in the Roughneſs and Frequency of Conſonants. Now, as we ſtruggle with an ill Climate to improve the nobler kinds of Fruit, are at the Expence of Walls to receive and reverberate the faint Rays of the Sun, and fence againſt the *Northern* Blaſts, we ſometimes by the Help of a good Soil equal the Productions of warmer Countries, who have no need to be at ſo much Coſt or Care. It is the ſame thing with reſpect to the politer Arts among us; and the ſame Defect of Heat which gives a Fierceneſs to our Natures, may contribute to that Roughneſs of our Language, which bears ſome Analogy to the harſh Fruit of colder Countries. For I do not reckon that we want a *Genius* more than the reſt of our Neighbours: But your Lordſhip will be of my Opinion, that we ought to ſtruggle with theſe natural Diſadvantages as much as we can, and be careful whom we employ, whenever we deſign to correct them, which is a Work that has hitherto been aſſumed by the leaſt qualified Hands. So that if the Choice had been left to me, I would rather have truſted the Refinement of our Language, as far as it relates to Sound, to the Judgment of the Women, than of illiterate Court-Fops, half-witted Poets, and Univerſity-Boys. For it is plain, that Women in their manner of corrupting Words, do naturally diſcard the Conſonants, as we do the Vowels. What I am going to tell your Lordſhip appears very trifling; that more than

once, where ſome of both Sexes were in Company, I have perſuaded two or three of each to take a Pen, and write down a number of Letters joined together, juſt as it came into their Heads; and upon reading this Gibberiſh, we have found, That which the Men had wrote, by the frequent encountring of rough Conſonants, to ſound like *High-Dutch*; and the other by the Women, like *Italian*, abounding in Vowels and Liquids. Now, though I would by no means give Ladies the trouble of adviſing us in the Reformation of our Language, yet I cannot help thinking, that ſince they have been left out of all Meetings, except Parties at Play, or where worſe Deſigns are carried on, our Converſation hath very much degenerated.

IN order to reform our Language, I conceive, my Lord, that a free judicious Choice ſhould be made of ſuch Perſons, as are generally allowed to be beſt qualified for ſuch a Work, without any regard to Quality, Party, or Profeſſion. Theſe, to a certain number at leaſt, ſhould aſſemble at ſome appointed Time and Place, and fix on Rules by which they deſign to proceed. What Methods they will take is not for me to preſcribe. Your Lordſhip, and other Perſons in great Employment, might pleaſe to be of the Number; and I am afraid ſuch a Society would want your Inſtruction and Example as much as your Protection: For I have, not without a little Envy, obſerved of late, the Style of ſome great Miniſters very much to exceed that of any other Productions.

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THE Perſons who are to undertake this Work will have the Example of the *French* before them, to imitate where theſe have proceeded right, and to avoid their Miſtakes. Beſide the Grammar-part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will obſerve many groſs Improprieties, which however authoriſed by Practice, and grown familiar, ought to be diſcarded. They will find many Words that deſerve to be utterly thrown out of our Language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few, long ſince antiquated, which ought to be reſtored, on account of their Energy and Sound.

BUT what I have moſt at heart, is, that ſome Method ſhould be thought on for *aſcertaining* and *fixing* our Language for ever, after ſuch Alterations are made in it as ſhall be thought requiſite. For I am of opinion, that it is better a Language ſhould not be wholly perfect, than that it ſhould be perpetually changing; and we muſt give over at one time, or at length infallibly change for the worſe: As the *Romans* did, when they began to quit their *Simplicity* of Style for affected Refinements; ſuch as we meet in *Tacitus* and other Authors, which ended by degrees in many Barbarities, even before the *Goths* had invaded *Italy*.

THE Fame of our Writers is uſually confined to theſe two Iſlands, and it is hard it ſhould be limited in *Time* as much as *Place*, by the perpetual

petual Variations of our Speech. It is your Lordſhip's Obſervation, that if it were not for the *Bible* and *Common Prayer Book* in the Vulgar Tongue, we ſhould hardly be able to underſtand any thing that was written among us an hundred Years ago; which is certainly true: For thoſe Books being perpetually read in Churches, have proved a kind of Standard for Language, eſpecially to the common People. And I doubt whether the Alterations ſince introduced, have added much to the Beauty or Strength of the *Engliſh* Tongue, tho' they have taken off a great deal from that *Simplicity*, which is one of the greateſt Perfections in any Language. You, my Lord, who are ſo converſant in the ſacred Writings, and ſo great a Judge of them in their Originals, will agree, that no Tranſlation our Country ever yet produced, hath come up to that of the *Old* and *New Teſtament:* And by the many beautiful Paſſages which I have often had the Honour to hear your Lordſhip cite from thence, I am perſuaded that the Tranſlators of the Bible were Maſters of an *Engliſh* Style much fitter for that Work, than any we ſee in our preſent Writings, which I take to be owing to the *Simplicity* that runs through the whole. Then, as to the greateſt Part of our *Liturgy*, compiled long before the Tranſlation of the *Bible* now in uſe, and little altered ſince; there ſeem to be in it as great Strains of true ſublime Eloquence, as are any where to be found in our Language, which every Man of good Taſte will obſerve in the *Communion Service*, that of *Burial*, and other Parts.

BUT when I ſay, that I would have our Language, after it is duly correct, always to laſt, I do not mean that it ſhould never be enlarged: Provided, that no Word, which a Society ſhall give a Sanction to, be afterwards antiquated and exploded, they may have liberty to receive whatever new ones they ſhall find occaſion for; becauſe then the old Books will yet be always valuable, according to their intrinſick Worth, and not thrown aſide on account of unintelligible Words and Phraſes, which appear harſh and uncouth, only becauſe they are out of Faſhion. Had the *Roman* Tongue continued vulgar in that City till this time; it would have been abſolutely neceſſary, from the mighty Changes that have been made in Law and Religion, from the many Terms of Art required in Trade and in War, from the new Inventions that have happened in the World, from the vaſt ſpreading of Navigation and Commerce, with many other obvious Circumſtances, to have made great Additions to that Language; yet the Ancients would ſtill have been read, and underſtood with Pleaſure and Eaſe. The *Greek* Tongue received many Enlargements between the Time of *Homer* and that of *Plutarch*, yet the former Author was probably as well underſtood in *Trajan*'s time as the latter. What *Horace* ſays of *Words going off and periſhing like Leaves, and new ones coming in their Place*, is a Misfortune he laments, rather than a thing he approves; but I cannot ſee why this ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary, or if it were, what would

would have become of his *Monumentum ære perennius.*

WRITING by Memory only, as I do at preſent, I would gladly keep within my Depth; and therefore ſhall not enter into further Particulars. Neither do I pretend more than to ſhew the Uſefulneſs of this Deſign, and to make ſome general Obſervations, leaving the reſt to that Society, which I hope will owe its Inſtitution and Patronage to your Lordſhip. Beſides, I would willingly avoid Repetition, having about a Year ago communicated to the Publick much of what I had to offer upon this Subject, by the Hands of an ingenious Gentleman who for a long time did thrice a Week divert or inſtruct the Kingdom by his Papers; and is ſuppoſed to purſue the ſame Deſign at preſent, under the Title of *Spectator*. This Author, who hath tried the Force and Compaſs of our Language with ſo much Succeſs, agrees entirely with me in moſt of my Sentiments relating to it; ſo do the greateſt Part of the Men of Wit and Learning, whom I have had the Happineſs to converſe with; and therefore I imagine that ſuch a Society would be pretty unanimous in the main Points.

YOUR Lordſhip muſt allow, that ſuch a Work as this, brought to Perfection, would very much contribute to the Glory of her Majeſty's Reign; which ought to be recorded in Words more durable than Braſs, and ſuch as our Poſterity may read a thouſand Years hence with Pleaſure as well

as Admiration. I always diſapproved that falſe Compliment to Princes, that the moſt laſting Monument they can have, is the Hearts of their Subjects. It is indeed their greateſt preſent Felicity to reign in their Subjects Hearts; but theſe are too periſhable to preſerve their Memories, which can only be done by the Pens of able and faithful Hiſtorians. And I take it to be your Lordſhip's Duty, as *Prime Miniſter*, to give order for inſpecting our Language, and rendring it fit to record the Hiſtory of ſo great and good a Princeſs. Beſides, my Lord, as diſintereſted as you appear to the World, I am convinced, that no Man is more in the Power of a prevailing Favourite Paſſion than yourſelf; I mean that Deſire of true and laſting Honour, which you have borne along with you through every Stage of your Life. To this you have often ſacrificed your Intereſt, your Eaſe, and your Health: For preſerving and encreaſing this, you have expoſed your Perſon to ſecret Treachery and open Violence. There is not perhaps an Example in Hiſtory of any Miniſter, who in ſo ſhort a time hath performed ſo many great things, and overcome ſo many Difficulties. Now, though I am fully convinced, that you fear God, honour your Queen, and love your Country, as much as any of your Fellow-Subjects, yet I muſt believe, that the Deſire of Fame hath been no inconſiderable Motive to quicken you in the Purſuit of thoſe Actions which will beſt deſerve it. But at the ſame time, I muſt be ſo plain as to tell your Lordſhip, that if you will not take ſome Care

to

to ſettle our Language, and put it into a State of Continuance, I cannot promiſe that your Memory ſhall be preſerved above an hundred Years further than by imperfect Tradition.

As barbarous and ignorant as we were in former Centuries, there was more effectual Care taken by our Anceſtors, to preſerve the Memory of Times and Perſons, than we find in this Age of Learning and Politeneſs, as we are pleaſed to call it. The rude *Latin* of the *Monks* is ſtill very intelligible; whereas, had their Records been delivered down only in the Vulgar Tongue, ſo barren and ſo barbarous, ſo ſubject to continual ſucceeding Changes, they could not now be underſtood, unleſs by Antiquaries, who make it their Study to expound them. And we muſt at this day have been content with ſuch poor Abſtracts of our *Engliſh* Story, as laborious Men of low Genius would think fit to give us: And even theſe in the next Age would be likewiſe ſwallowed up in ſucceeding Collections. If things go on at this rate, all I can promiſe your Lordſhip, is, that about two hundred Years hence ſome painful Compiler, who will be at the trouble of ſtudying old Language, may inform the World, that in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, *Robert* Earl of *Oxford*, a very wiſe and excellent Man, was made *High Treaſurer*, and ſaved his Country, which in thoſe Days was almoſt ruined by a *Foreign War*, and a *Domeſtick Faction*. Thus much he may be able to pick out, and willing to transfer into his new Hiſtory; but the reſt of your

your Character, which I or any other Writer may now value ourſelves by drawing, and the particular Account of the great Things done under your Miniſtry, for which you are already ſo celebrated in moſt Parts of *Europe*, will probably be dropt, on account of the antiquated Style, and Manner they are delivered in.

How then ſhall any Man who hath a Genius for Hiſtory, equal to the beſt of the Ancients, be able to undertake ſuch a Work with Spirit and Chearfulneſs, when he conſiders that he will be read with Pleaſure but a very few Years, and in an Age or two ſhall hardly be underſtood without an Interpreter? This is like employing an excellent Statuary to work upon mouldring Stone. Thoſe who apply their Studies to preſerve the Memory of others will always have ſome Concern for their own. And I believe it is for this Reaſon that ſo few Writers among us, of any Diſtinction, have turned their Thoughts to ſuch a diſcouraging Employment: For the beſt *Engliſh* Hiſtorian muſt lie under this Mortification, that when his Style grows antiquated, he will be only conſidered as a tedious Relater of Facts; and perhaps conſulted in his turn among other neglected Authors, to furniſh Materials for ſome future Collector.

I Doubt your Lordſhip is but ill entertained with a few ſcattered Thoughts, upon a Subject that deſerves to be treated with Ability and Care: However, I muſt beg leave to add a few Words more,

more, perhaps not altogether foreign to the ſame Matter. I know not whether that which I am going to ſay may paſs for Caution, Advice, or Reproach, any of which will be juſtly thought very improper from one in my Station to one in yours. However, I muſt venture to affirm, that if Genius and Learning be not encouraged under your Lordſhip's Adminiſtration, you are the moſt inexcuſable Perſon alive. All your other Virtues, my Lord, will be defective without this; your Affability, Candour, and good Nature; that perpetual Agreeableneſs of Converſation, ſo diſengaged in the midſt of ſuch a Weight of Buſineſs and Oppoſition; even your Juſtice, Prudence, and Magnanimity, will ſhine leſs bright without it. Your Lordſhip is univerſally allowed to poſſeſs a very large Portion in moſt Parts of Literature; and to this you owe the cultivating thoſe many Virtues which otherwiſe would have been leſs adorned, or in lower Perfection. Neither can you acquit yourſelf of theſe Obligations, without letting the Arts, in their turn, ſhare your Influence and Protection: Beſides, who knows but ſome *true Genius* may happen to ariſe under your Miniſtry, *exortus ut ætherius Sol.* Every Age might perhaps produce one or two of theſe to adorn it, if they were not ſunk under the Cenſure and Obloquy of plodding, ſervile, imitating Pedants: I do not mean by a true Genius, any bold Writer, who breaks through the Rules of Decency to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the Singularity of Opinions; but one, who upon a deſerving Subject is able to open new Scenes, and diſcover

ver a Vein of true and noble Thinking, which never entered into any Imagination before: Every Stroke of whoſe Pen is worth all the Paper blotted by Hundreds of others in the Compaſs of their Lives. I know, my Lord, your Friends will offer in your Defence, that in your private Capacity you never refus'd your Purſe and Credit to the Service and Support of learned or ingenious Men; and that ever ſince you have been in publick Employment, you have conſtantly beſtowed your Favours to the moſt deſerving Perſons. But I deſire your Lordſhip not to be deceived: We never will admit of theſe Excuſes, nor will allow your private Liberality, as great as it is, to atone for your exceſſive publick Thrift. But here again, I am afraid moſt good Subjects will interpoſe in your Defence, by alledging the deſperate Condition you found the Nation in, and the Neceſſity there was for ſo able and faithful a Steward to retrieve it, if poſſible, by the utmoſt Frugality. We grant all this, my Lord; but then it ought likewiſe to be conſidered, that you have already ſaved ſeveral Millions to the Publick, and that what we ask is too inconſiderable to break into any Rules of the ſtricteſt good Husbandry. The *French* King beſtows about half a dozen Penſions to learned Men in ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, and perhaps a dozen in his own Kingdom; which, in the whole, do probably not amount to half the Income of many a private Commoner in *England*, yet have more contributed to the Glory of that Prince, than any Million he hath otherwiſe employed.

ployed. For Learning, like all true Merit, is eaſily ſatisfied, whilſt the falſe and counterfeit is perpetually craving, and never thinks it hath enough. The ſmalleſt Favour given by a great Prince, as a Mark of Eſteem, to reward the Endowments of the Mind, never fails to be returned with Praiſe and Gratitude, and loudly celebrated to the World. I have known ſome Years ago, ſeveral Penſions given to particular Perſons, (how deſervedly I ſhall not enquire) any one of which, if divided into ſmaller Parcels, and diſtributed by the Crown to thoſe who might, upon occaſion, diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſome extraordinary Production of Wit or Learning, would be amply ſufficient to anſwer the End. Or if any ſuch Perſons were above Money, (as every great *Genius* certainly is, with very moderate Conveniencies of Life) a Medal, or ſome Mark of Diſtinction, would do full as well.

BUT I forget my Province, and find myſelf turning Projector before I am aware; although it be one of the laſt Characters under which I ſhould deſire to appear before your Lordſhip, eſpecially when I have the Ambition of aſpiring to that of being, with the greateſt Reſpect and Truth,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

moſt Obedient, moſt Obliged,

and moſt Humble Servant,

London,
Feb. 22. 1711-12.

A

LETTER

TO A

YOUNG GENTLEMAN

Lately Enter'd into

HOLY ORDERS.

Dublin, January 9.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH it was againſt my Knowledge or Advice that you enter'd into Holy Orders, under the preſent Diſpoſition of Mankind towards the *Church*, yet ſince it is now ſuppoſed too late to recede, (at leaſt according to

to the general Practice and Opinion) I cannot forbear offering my Thoughts to you upon this new Condition of Life you are engaged in.

I COULD heartily wiſh that the Circumſtances of your Fortune had enabled you to have continued ſome Years longer in the Univerſity, at leaſt, till you were ten Years ſtanding; to have laid in a competent Stock of human Learning, and ſome Knowledge in Divinity, before you attempted to appear in the World: For I cannot but lament the common Courſe, which at leaſt nine in ten of thoſe who enter into the Miniſtry are obliged to run. When they have taken a Degree, and are conſequently grown a Burden to their Friends, who now think themſelves fully diſcharged, they get into Orders as ſoon as they can, (upon which I ſhall make no Remarks) firſt ſollicit a Readerſhip, and if they be very fortunate, arrive in time to a Curacy here in Town, or elſe are ſent to be Aſſiſtants in the Country, where they probably continue ſeveral Years (many of them their whole Lives) with thirty or forty Pounds a Year for their Support, till ſome Biſhop, who happens to be not overſtock'd with Relations, or attach'd to Favourites, or is content to ſupply his Dioceſs without Colonies from *England*, beſtows upon them ſome inconſiderable Benefice, when 'tis odds they are already encumber'd with a numerous Family. I would be glad to know what Intervals of Life ſuch Perſons can poſſibly ſet a-part for Improvement of their Minds; or which way they could be furniſh'd

furniſh'd with Books, the Library they brought with them from their College being uſually not the moſt numerous, or judiciouſly choſen. If ſuch Gentlemen arrive to be great Scholars, it muſt, I think, be either by Means ſupernatural, or by a Method altogether out of any Road yet known to the Learned. But I conceive the Fact directly otherwiſe, and that many of them loſe the greateſt Part of the ſmall Pittance they received at the Univerſity.

I TAKE it for granted, that you intend to purſue the beaten Track, and are already deſirous to be ſeen in a Pulpit; only I hope you will think it proper to paſs your Quarentine among ſome of the deſolate Churches five Miles round this Town, where you may at leaſt learn to *Read* and to *Speak* before you venture to expoſe your Parts in a City-Congregation; not that theſe are better Judges, but becauſe, if a Man muſt needs expoſe his Folly, it is more ſafe and diſcreet to do ſo, before few Witneſſes, and in a ſcattered Neighbourhood. And you will do well, if you can prevail upon ſome intimate and judicious Friend to be your conſtant Hearer, and allow him with the utmoſt Freedom to give you notice of whatever he ſhall find amiſs, either in your Voice or Geſture; for want of which early Warning many Clergymen continue defective, and ſometimes ridiculous, to the End of their Lives; neither is it rare to obſerve among excellent and learned Divines, a certain ungracious Manner, or an unhappy Tone

of Voice, which they never have been able to ſhake off.

I COULD likewiſe have been glad if you had applied yourſelf a little more to the Study of the *Engliſh* Language than I fear you have done; the Neglect whereof is one of the moſt general Defects among the Scholars of this Kingdom, who ſeem not to have the leaſt Conception of a Style, but run on in a flat kind of Phraſeology, often mingled with barbarous Terms and Expreſſions peculiar to the Nation: Neither do I perceive that any Perſon either finds or acknowledges his Wants upon this Head, or in the leaſt deſires to have them ſupplied. Proper Words in proper Places make the true Definition of a Style. But this would require too ample a Diſquiſition to be now dwelt on: However, I ſhall venture to name one or two Faults, which are eaſy to be remedied with a very ſmall Portion of Abilities.

THE firſt is the frequent Uſe of obſcure Terms, which by the Women are called *hard Words*, and by the better ſort of Vulgar *fine Language*; than which I do not know a more univerſal, inexcuſable, and unneceſſary Miſtake among the Clergy of all Diſtinctions, but eſpecially the younger Practitioners. I have been curious enough to take a Liſt of ſeveral hundred Words in a Sermon of a new Beginner, which not one of his Hearers among a hundred could poſſibly underſtand; neither can I eaſily call to mind any Clergyman of my own Acquaintance who is wholly exempt

exempt from this Error, although many of them agree with me in the Diſlike of the Thing. But I am apt to put myſelf in the Place of the Vulgar, and think many Words difficult or obſcure, which they will not allow to be ſo, becauſe thoſe Words are obvious to Scholars. I believe the Method obſerved by the famous Lord *Falkland*, in ſome of his Writings, would not be an ill one for young Divines: I was aſſured by an old Perſon of Quality who knew him well, that when he doubted whether a Word were perfectly intelligible or no, he uſed to conſult one of his Lady's Chambermaids, (not the Waiting-woman, becauſe it was poſſible ſhe might be converſant in Romances) and by her Judgment was guided, whether to receive or to reject it. And if that great Perſon thought ſuch a Caution neceſſary in Treatiſes offered to the learned World, it will be ſure at leaſt as proper in Sermons, where the meaneſt Hearer is ſuppoſed to be concerned, and where very often a Lady's Chambermaid may be allowed to equal half the Congregation, both as to Quality and Underſtanding. But I know not how it comes to paſs, that Profeſſors in moſt Arts and Sciences are generally the worſt qualified to explain their Meanings to thoſe who are not of their Tribe: A common Farmer ſhall make you underſtand in three Words, *that his Foot is out of Joint, or his Collar-bone broken*; wherein a *Surgeon*, after a hundred Terms of Art, if you are not a Scholar, ſhall leave you to ſeek. It is frequently the ſame Caſe in Law, Phyſick, and even many of the meaner Arts.

AND upon this account it is, that among *hard Words*, I number likewiſe thoſe which are peculiar to Divinity as it is a Science, becauſe I obſerved ſeveral Clergymen, otherwiſe little fond of obſcure Terms, yet in their Sermons very liberal of all thoſe which they find in Eccleſiaſtical Writers, as if it were our Duty to underſtand them; which I am ſure it is not. And I defy the greateſt Divine to produce any Law either of God or Man, which obliges me to comprehend the Meaning of *Omniſcience*, *Omnipreſence*, *Ubiquity*, *Attribute*, *Beatifick Viſion*, with a thouſand others ſo frequent in Pulpits, any more than that of *Excentrick*, *Idioſyncraſy*, *Entity*, and the like. I believe I may venture to inſiſt further, that many Terms uſed in Holy Writ, particularly by St *Paul*, might with more Diſcretion be changed into plainer Speech, except when they are introduced as part of a Quotation.

I AM the more earneſt in this Matter, becauſe it is a general Complaint, and the juſteſt in the World. For a Divine has nothing to ſay to the wiſeſt Congregation of any Pariſh in this Kingdom, which he may not expreſs in a manner to be underſtood by the meaneſt among them. And this Aſſertion muſt be true, or elſe God requires from us more than we are able to perform. However, not to contend whether a Logician might poſſibly put a Caſe that would ſerve for an Exception, I will appeal to any Man of Letters, whether at leaſt nineteen in twenty of thoſe per-

perplexing Words might not be changed into eaſy ones, ſuch as naturally firſt occur to ordinary Men, and probably did ſo at firſt to thoſe very Gentlemen who are ſo fond of the former.

WE are often reproved by Divines from the Pulpits, on account of our Ignorance in Things ſacred, and perhaps with Juſtice enough: However, it is not very reaſonable for them to expect, that *common Men* ſhould underſtand Expreſſions, which are never made uſe of in *common Life*. No Gentleman thinks it ſafe or prudent to ſend a Servant with a Meſſage, without repeating it more than once, and endeavouring to put it into Terms brought down to the Capacity of the Bearer: Yet after all this Care, it is frequent for Servants to miſtake, and ſometimes to occaſion Miſunderſtandings among Friends. Although the common Domeſticks in a Gentleman's Family have more Opportunities of improving their Minds, than the ordinary ſort of Tradeſmen.

IT is uſual for Clergymen who are taxed with this learned Defect, to quote Dr. *Tillotſon*, and other famous Divines, in their Defence, without conſidering the Difference between elaborate Diſcourſes upon important Occaſions, delivered to Princes or Parliaments, written with a View of being made publick, and a plain Sermon intended for the middle or lower Size of People. Neither do they ſeem to remember the many Alterations, Additions, and Expungings made by great

Authors, in thoſe Treatiſes which they prepare for the Publick. Beſides, that excellent Prelate above-mentioned, was known to preach after a much more popular Manner in the City-Congregations: And if in thoſe Parts of his Works he be any where too obſcure for the Underſtandings of many, who may be ſuppoſed to have been his Hearers, it ought to be numbred among his Omiſſions.

THE Fear of being thought Pedants hath been of pernicious Conſequence to young Divines. This hath wholly taken many of them off from their ſeverer Studies in the Univerſity, which they have exchanged for Plays, Poems, and Pamphlets, in order to qualify them for Tea-Tables and Coffee-Houſes. This they uſually call *Polite Converſation*, *knowing the World*, and *reading Men inſtead of Books*. Theſe Accompliſhments, when applied in the Pulpit, appear by a quaint, tere, florid Style, rounded into Periods and Cadencies, commonly without either Propriety or Meaning. I have liſten'd with my utmoſt Attention for half an Hour to an Orator of this Species, without being able to underſtand, much leſs to carry away one ſingle Sentence out of a whole Sermon. Others, to ſhew that their Studies have not been confined to Sciences, or ancient Authors, will talk in the Style of a Gaming Ordinary, and *White Friars*, where I ſuppoſe the Hearers can be little edified by the Terms of *Palming*, *Shuffling*, *Biting*, *Bamboozling*, and the like, if they have not been ſometimes

times converſant among Pickpockets and Sharpers. And truly, as they ſay, a Man is known by his Company, ſo it ſhould ſeem, that a Man's Company may be known by his Manner of expreſſing himſelf, either in publick Aſſemblies, or private Converſation.

It would be endleſs to run over the ſeveral Defects of Style among us: I ſhall therefore ſay nothing of the *Mean* and the *Paultry*, (which are uſually attended by the *Fuſtian*) much leſs of the *Slovenly* or *Indecent*. Two things I will juſt warn you againſt: The firſt is, the Frequency of flat unneceſſary Epithets; and the other is, the Folly of uſing old thread-bare Phraſes, which will often make you go out of your Way to find and apply them, are nauſeous to rational Hearers, and will ſeldom expreſs your Meaning as well as your own natural Words.

Although, as I have already obſerved, our *Engliſh* Tongue is too little cultivated in this Kingdom, yet the Faults are nine in ten owing to Affectation, and not to the Want of Underſtanding. When a Man's Thoughts are clear, the propereſt Words will generally offer themſelves firſt, and his own Judgment will direct him in what Order to place them, ſo as they may be beſt underſtood. Where Men err againſt this Method, it is uſually on purpoſe, and to ſhew their Learning, their Oratory, their Politeneſs, or their Knowledge of the World. In ſhort, that Simplicity, without which no human Perfor-

mance can arrive to any great Perfection, is no where more eminently uſeful than in this.

I HAVE been conſidering that Part of Oratory which relates to the moving of the Paſſions: This I obſerve is in Eſteem and Practice among ſome Church-Divines, as well as among all the Preachers and Hearers of the Fanatick or Enthuſiaſtick Strain. I will here deliver to you (perhaps with more Freedom than Prudence) my Opinion upon the Point.

THE two great Orators of *Greece* and *Rome*, *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, though each of them a Leader (or as the *Greeks* called it, a *Demagogue*) in a popular State, yet ſeem to differ in their Practice upon this Branch of their Art: The former, who had to deal with a People of much more Politeneſs, Learning, and Wit, laid the greateſt Weight of his Oratory upon the Strength of his Arguments offered to their Underſtanding and Reaſon: Whereas *Tully* conſidered the Diſpoſitions of a ſincere, more ignorant, and leſs mercurial Nation, by dwelling almoſt entirely on the pathetick Part.

BUT the principal Thing to be remember'd is, that the conſtant Deſign of both theſe Orators in all their Speeches, was to drive ſome one particular Point, either the Condemnation or Acquittal of an accuſed Perſon, a Perſuaſive to War, the Enforcing of a Law, and the like: which was determined upon the Spot, according as the Oratory

Oratory on either Side prevailed. And here it was often found of abſolute Neceſſity to enflame or cool the Paſſions of the Audience; eſpecially at *Rome*, where *Tully* ſpoke. And with thoſe Writings young Divines (I mean thoſe among them who read old Authors) are more converſant than with thoſe of *Demoſthenes*, who by many Degrees excelled the other, at leaſt as an Orator. But I do not ſee how this Talent of moving the Paſſions can be of any great Uſe towards directing Chriſtian Men in the Conduct of their Lives, at leaſt in theſe Northern Climates, where I am confident, the ſtrongeſt Eloquence of that kind will leave few Impreſſions upon any of our Spirits deep enough to laſt till the next Morning, or rather to the next Meal.

BUT what hath chiefly put me out of Conceit with this moving Manner of Preaching, is the frequent Diſappointment it meets with. I know a Gentleman, who made it a Rule in reading, to skip over all Sentences where he ſpied a Note of Admiration at the End. I believe thoſe Preachers who abound in *Epiphonema's*, if they look about them, would find one Part of their Congregation out of Countenance, and the other aſleep, except perhaps an old female Beggar or two in the Iſles, who (if they be ſincere) may probably groan at the Sound.

NOR is it a wonder that this Expedient ſhould ſo often miſcarry, which requires ſo much Art and Genius to arrive at any Perfection in it, as

any Man will find, much ſooner than learn by conſulting *Cicero* himſelf.

I THEREFORE entreat you to make uſe of this Faculty (if you are ever ſo unfortunate as to think you have it) as ſeldom, and with as much Caution as you can, elſe I may probably have occaſion to ſay of you as a great Perſon ſaid of another upon this very Subject. A Lady ask'd him, coming out of Church, whether it were not a very moving Diſcourſe? *Yes*, ſaid he, *I was extremely ſorry, for the Man is my Friend.*

IF in Company you offer ſomething for a Jeſt, and no body ſeconds you in your own Laughter, nor ſeems to reliſh what you ſaid, you may condemn their Taſte, if you pleaſe, and appeal to better Judgments; but in the mean time, it muſt be agreed you make a very indifferent Figure: And it is at leaſt equally ridiculous to be diſappointed in endeavouring to make other Folks grieve, as to make them laugh.

A PLAIN convincing Reaſon may poſſibly operate upon the Mind both of a learned and ignorant Hearer as long as they live, and will edify a thouſand Times more than the Art of wetting the Handkerchiefs of a whole Congregation, if you were ſure to attain it.

IF your Arguments be ſtrong, in God's Name offer them in as moving a Manner as the Nature of the Subject will probably admit, wherein Reaſon

ſon and good Advice will be your ſafeſt Guides; but beware of letting the pathetick Part ſwallow up the rational: For I ſuppoſe, *Philoſophers* have long agreed, that Paſſion ſhould never prevail over Reaſon.

As I take it, the two principal Branches of Preaching, are firſt to tell the People what is their Duty, and then to convince them that it is ſo. The Topicks for both theſe, we know are brought from *Scripture* and *Reaſon*. Upon this firſt, I wiſh it were often practiſed to inſtruct the Hearers in the Limits, Extent, and Compaſs of every Duty, which requires a good deal of Skill and Judgment: The other Branch is, I think not ſo difficult. But what I would offer upon both, is this, That it ſeems to be in the Power of a reaſonable Clergyman, if he will be at the Pains to make the moſt ignorant Man comprehend what is his Duty, and to convince him by Argument drawn to the Level of his Underſtanding, that he ought to perform it.

But I muſt remember that my Deſign in this *Paper* was not ſo much to inſtruct you in your Buſineſs either as a Clergyman, or a Preacher, as to warn you againſt ſome Miſtakes which are obvious to the Generality of Mankind as well as to me; and we who are Hearers, may be allowed to have ſome Opportunities in the Quality of being Standers-by. Only perhaps I may now again tranſgreſs, by deſiring you to expreſs the Heads of your Diviſions in as few and clear

Words as you poſſibly can; otherwiſe, I and many thouſand others will never be able to retain them, nor conſequently to carry away a Syllable of the Sermon.

I SHALL now mention a Particular, wherein your whole Body will be certainly againſt me, and the Laity, almoſt to a Man, on my Side. However it came about, I cannot get over the Prejudice of taking ſome little Offence at the Clergy, for perpetually reading their Sermons; perhaps my frequent hearing of Foreigners, who never make uſe of Notes, may have added to my Diſguſt. And I cannot but think, that whatever is read, differs as much from what is repeated without Book, as a Copy does from an Original. At the ſame time, I am highly ſenſible what an extream Difficulty it would be upon you to alter this Method; and that, in ſuch a Caſe, your Sermons would be much leſs valuable than they are, for want of Time to improve and correct them. I would therefore gladly come to a Com-promiſe with you in this Matter: I knew a Clergyman of ſome Diſtinction, who appeared to deliver his Sermon without looking into his Notes, which when I complimented him upon, he aſſured me, he could not repeat ſix Lines; but his Method was to write the whole Sermon in a large plain Hand, with all the Forms of Margin, Paragraph, marked Page, and the like; then on *Sunday* Morning, took care to run it over five or ſix Times, which he could do in an Hour; and when he deliver'd it, by pre-

tending to turn his Face from one Side to the other, he would (in his own Expreſſion) pick up the Lines, and cheat his People by making them believe he had it all by Heart. He farther added, that whenever he happened by Neglect to omit any of theſe Circumſtances, the Vogue of the *Pariſh* was, *our Doctor gave us but an indifferent Sermon to Day.* Now among us, many Clergymen act too directly contrary to this Method, that from a Habit of ſaving *Time* and *Paper*, which they acquir'd at the Univerſity, they write in ſo diminutive a Manner, with ſuch frequent Blots and Interlineations, that they are hardly able to go on without perpetual Heſitations or extemporary Expletives: And I deſire to know what can be more inexcuſable, than to ſee a Divine, and a Scholar, at a Loſs in reading his own Compoſitions, which it is ſuppoſed he has been preparing with much *Pains* and *Thought* for the Inſtruction of his People. The want of a little more Care in this Article, is the Cauſe of much ungraceful Behaviour. You will obſerve ſome Clergymen with their Heads held down from the Beginning to the End, within an Inch of the Cuſhion, to read what is hardly legible; which, beſides the untoward Manner, hinders them from making the beſt Advantage of their Voice: Others, again, have a Trick of popping up and down every Moment, from their *Paper* to the Audience, like an idle School-Boy on a Repetition-Day.

LET me entreat you, therefore, to add one half Crown a Year to the Article of *Paper*; to tranſcribe your Sermons in as large and plain a Manner as you can, and either make no Interlineations, or change the whole Leaf: for we your Hearers would rather you ſhould be leſs correct, than perpetually ſtammering, which I take to be one of the worſt *Soleciſms* in *Rhetorick*. And laſtly, read your Sermons once or twice for a few Days before you preach it: To which you will probably anſwer ſome Years hence, *That it was but juſt finiſhed when the laſt Bell rung to Church*; and I ſhall readily believe, but not excuſe you.

I CANNOT forbear warning you, in the moſt earneſt Manner, againſt endeavouring at Wit in your Sermons; becauſe, by the ſtricteſt Computation, it is very near a Million to one that you have none; and becauſe too many of your Calling have conſequently made themſelves everlaſtingly ridiculous by attempting it. I remember ſeveral young Men in this Town, who could never leave the *Pulpit* under half a dozen *Conceits*; and this Faculty adhered to thoſe Gentlemen a longer or ſhorter Time, exactly in proportion to their ſeveral Degrees of Dulneſs: Accordingly, I am told that ſome of them retain it to this Day. I heartily wiſh the Brood were at an End.

BEFORE

BEFORE you enter into the common unſufferable Cant, of taking all Occaſions to diſparage the Heathen *Philoſophers*, I hope you will differ from ſome of your Brethren, by firſt enquiring what thoſe *Philoſophers* can ſay for themſelves. The Syſtem of Morality to be gathered out of the Writings or Sayings of thoſe ancient Sages, falls undoubtedly very ſhort of that delivered in the Goſpel, and wants, beſides, the divine Sanction which our Saviour gave to his. Whatever is further related by the Evangeliſts, contains chiefly Matters of Fact, and conſequently of Faith; ſuch as the Birth of Chriſt, his being the Meſſiah, his Miracles, his Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion: None of which can properly come under the Appellation of human Wiſdom, being intended only to make us wiſe unto Salvation. And therefore in this Point, nothing can juſtly be laid to the Charge of the *Philoſophers* further, than that they were ignorant of certain Facts which happened long after their Death. But I am deceived, if a better Comment could be any where collected upon the moral Part of the Goſpel, than from the Writings of thoſe excellent Men; even that divine Precept of loving our Enemies, is at large inſiſted on by *Plato*, who puts it, as I remember, into the Mouth of *Socrates*. And as to the Reproach of Heatheniſm, I doubt they had leſs of it than the corrupted *Jews*, in whoſe Time they lived. For it is a groſs Piece of Ignorance among us, to conceive, that in thoſe polite and learned Ages, even

even Perſons of any tolerable Education, much leſs the wiſeſt Philoſophers, did acknowledge or worſhip any more than one Almighty Power, under ſeveral Denominations, to whom they allowed all thoſe Attributes we aſcribe to the Divinity: And as I take it, human Comprehenſion reacheth no further; neither did our Saviour think it neceſſary to explain to us the Nature of God, becauſe I ſuppoſe it would be impoſſible, without beſtowing us other Faculties than we poſſeſs at preſent. But the true Miſery of the Heathen World appears to be what I before mentioned, the want of a divine Sanction, without which the Dictates of the Philoſophers failed in the Point of Authority, and conſequently the Bulk of Mankind lay indeed under a great Load of Ignorance, even in the Article of Morality; but the Philoſophers themſelves did not. Take the Matter in this Light, and it will afford Field enough for a Divine to enlarge on, by ſhewing the Advantages which the Chriſtian World has over the Heathen, and the abſolute Neceſſity of divine Revelations, to make the Knowledge of the true God, and the Practice of Virtue more univerſal in the World.

I AM not ignorant how much I differ in this Opinion from ſome ancient Fathers in the Church, who arguing againſt the Heathens, made it a principal Topick to decry their Philoſophy as much as they could: Which, I hope, is not altogether our preſent Caſe. Beſides, it is to be conſider'd, that thoſe Fathers lived in the Decline of

of *Literature*; and in my Judgment (who ſhould be unwilling to give the leaſt Offence) appear to be rather moſt excellent holy Perſons, than of tranſcendent Genius and Learning. Their genuine Writings (for many of them have extremely ſuffered by ſpurious Additions) are of admirable Uſe for confirming the Truth of ancient Doctrines and Diſcipline, by ſhewing the State and Practice of the Primitive Church. But among ſuch of them as have fallen in my Way, I do not remember any whoſe Manner of arguing or exhorting I could heartily recommend to the Imitation of a young Divine, when he is to ſpeak from the Pulpit. Perhaps I judge too haſtily; there being ſeveral of them, in whoſe Writings I have made very little Progreſs, and in others none at all. For I peruſed only ſuch as were recommended to me, at a Time when I had more Leiſure, and a better Diſpoſition to read, than have ſince fallen to my Share.

To return then to the Heathen Philoſophers: I hope you will not only give them Quarter, but make their Works a conſiderable Part of your Study. To theſe I will venture to add the principal Orators and Hiſtorians, and perhaps a few of the Poets: By the reading of which, you will ſoon diſcover your Mind and Thoughts to be enlarged, your Imagination extended and refined, your Judgment directed, your Admiration leſſened, and your Fortitude encreaſed: All which Advantages muſt needs be of excellent Uſe to a Divine, whoſe Duty it is to preach and practiſe the Contempt of human Things. I

I WOULD ſay ſomething concerning Quotations, wherein I think you cannot be too ſparing, except from Scripture, and the primitive Writers of the Church. As to the former, when you offer a Text as a Proof or an Illuſtration, we your Hearers expect to be fairly uſed, and ſometimes think we have reaſon to complain, eſpecially of you younger Divines; which makes us fear, that ſome of you conceive you have no more to do than to turn over a Concordance, and there having found the principal Word, introduce as much of the Verſe as will ſerve your Turn, though in reality it makes nothing for you. I do not altogether diſapprove the Manner of interweaving Texts of Scripture through the Style of your Sermon, wherein, however, I have ſometimes obſerved great Inſtances of Indiſcretion and Impropriety, againſt which I therefore venture to give you a Caution.

As to Quotations from ancient Fathers, I think they are beſt brought in, to confirm ſome Opinion controverted by thoſe who differ from us: In other Caſes we give you full Power to adopt the Sentence for your own, rather than tell us, *as St.* Auſtin *excellently obſerves*. But to mention modern Writers by Name, or uſe the Phraſe of *a late excellent Prelate of our Church*, and the like, is altogether intolerable, and for what Reaſon I know not, makes every rational Hearer aſhamed. Of no better a Stamp is your *Heathen Philoſopher*, and *famous Poet*, and *Roman*

man Hiſtorians, at leaſt in common Congregations, who will rather believe you on your own Word, than on that of *Plato* or *Homer*.

I HAVE lived to ſee *Greek* or *Latin* almoſt entirely driven out of the Pulpit, for which I am heartily glad. The frequent Uſe of the latter was certainly a Remnant of Popery, which never admitted Scripture in the vulgar Language; and I wonder that Practice was never accordingly objected to us by the Fanaticks.

THE mention of Quotations puts me in mind of common Place-Books, which have been long in uſe by induſtrious young Divines, and, I hear, do ſtill continue ſo; I know they are very beneficial to Lawyers and Phyſicians, becauſe they are Collections of Facts or Caſes, whereupon a great Part of their ſeveral Faculties depend; of theſe I have ſeen ſeveral, but never yet any written by a Clergyman; only from what I am informed, they generally are Extracts of Theological and Moral Sentences, drawn from Eccleſiaſtical and other Authors, reduced under proper Heads, uſually begun, and perhaps finiſhed, while the Collectors were young in the Church, as being intended for Materials, or Nurſeries to ſtock future Sermons. You will obſerve the wiſeſt Editors of ancient Authors, when they meet a Sentence worthy of being diſtinguiſhed, take ſpecial Care to have the firſt Word printed in Capital Letters, that you may not overlook it: Such, for Example, as *the Inconſtancy of Fortune*, *the Goodneſs*

Goodneſs of Peace, the Excellency of Wiſdom, the Certainty of Death; that Proſperity makes Men inſolent, and Adverſity humble; and the like eternal Truths, which every Plowman knew long enough before *Ariſtotle* or *Plato* were born. If Theological Common-Place-Books be no better filled, I think they had better be laid aſide; and I could wiſh that Men of tolerable Intellectuals would truſt their own natural Reaſon, improved by a general Converſation with Books, to enlarge on a Point which they are ſuppos'd already to underſtand. If a rational Man reads an excellent Author with juſt Application, he ſhall find himſelf extremely improved, and perhaps inſenſibly led to imitate that Author's Perfections, although in a little Time he ſhould not remember one Word in the Book, nor even the Subject it handled: For Books give the ſame Turn to our Thoughts and Way of Reaſoning, that good and ill Company does to our Behaviour and Converſation; without either loading our Memories, or making us even ſenſible of the Change. And particularly I have obſerved in Preaching, that no Men ſucceed better than thoſe, who truſt entirely to the Stock or Fund of their own Reaſon, advanced indeed, but not overlaid by Commerce with Books: Whoever only reads in order to tranſcribe wiſe and ſhining Remarks, without entring into the Genius and Spirit of the Author, as it is probable he will make no very judicious Extract, ſo he will be apt to truſt to that Collection in all his Compoſitions, and be miſ-led out of the regular Way of Thinking,

in

in order to introduce thoſe Materials which he has been at the Pains to gather: And the Product of all this will be found a manifeſt incoherent Piece of Patchwork.

SOME Gentlemen abounding in their Univerty Erudition, are apt to fill their Sermons with Philoſophical Terms and Notions of the metaphyſical or abſtracted Kind, which generally have one Advantage, to be equally underſtood by the Wiſe, the Vulgar, and the Preacher himſelf. I have been better entertained, and more informed by a Chapter in the *Pilgrim's Progreſs*, than by a long Diſcourſe upon the *Will* and the *Intellect*, and *ſimple* or *complex Ideas*. Others again, are fond of dilating on *Matter* and *Motion*, talk of the *fortuitous Concourſe of Atoms*, of *Theories*, and *Phænomena*; directly againſt the Advice of St. *Paul*, who yet appears to have been converſant enough in thoſe kind of Studies.

I DO not find that you are any where directed in the Canons or Articles, to attempt explaining the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion. And indeed, ſince Providence intended there ſhould be Myſteries, I do not ſee how it can be agreeable to *Piety*, *Orthodox*, or good *Senſe*, to go about ſuch a Work. For, to me there ſeems to be a manifeſt Dilemma in the Caſe: If you explain them, they are Myſteries no longer; if you fail, you have laboured to no Purpoſe. What I ſhould think moſt reaſonable and ſafe for you to do upon this Occaſion, upon ſolemn Days

Days to deliver the Doctrine as the Church holds it, and confirm it by Scripture. For my part, having conſidered the Matter impartially, I can ſee no great Reaſon which thoſe Gentlemen, you call the *Free-Thinkers*, can have for their Clamour againſt religious Myſteries; ſince it is plain, they were not invented by the Clergy, to whom they bring no Profit, nor acquire any Honour. For every Clergyman is ready, either to tell us the utmoſt he knows, or to confeſs that he does not underſtand them; neither is it ſtrange that there ſhould be Myſteries in Divinity, as well as in the commoneſt Operations of Nature.

AND here I am at a Loſs what to ſay, upon the frequent Cuſtom of preaching againſt *Atheiſm*, *Deiſm*, *Free-Thinking*, and the like, as young Divines are particularly fond of doing, eſpecially when they exerciſe their Talent in Churches, frequented by the People of Quality; which, as it is but an ill Compliment to the Audience, ſo I am under ſome doubt whether it anſwers the End.

BECAUSE Perſons under thoſe Imputations are generally no great Frequenters of Churches, and ſo the Congregation is but little edified for the ſake of three or four Fools who are paſt Grace: Neither do I think it any Part of *Prudence*, to perplex the Minds of well-diſpoſed People with Doubts, which probably would never have otherwiſe come into their Heads. But I am of Opinion, and dare be poſitive in it, that

not one in a hundred of thoſe, who pretend to be *Free-Thinkers*, are really ſo in their Hearts. For there is one Obſervation which I never knew to fail, and I deſire you will examine it in the Courſe of your Life, That no Gentleman of a liberal Education, and regular in his Morals, did ever profeſs himſelf a *Free-Thinker:* Where then are theſe kind of People to be found? Among the worſt Part of the Soldiery, made up of Pages, younger Brothers of obſcure Families, and others of deſperate Fortunes; or elſe among idle Town Fops, and now and then a drunken 'Squire of the Country. Therefore, nothing can be plainer, than that Ignorance and Vice are two Ingredients abſolutely neceſſary in the Compoſition of thoſe you generally call *Free-Thinkers*, who, in Propriety of Speech, *are no Thinkers at all.* And ſince I am in the Way of it, pray conſider one Thing farther: As young as you are, you cannot but have already obſerved, what a violent Run there is among too many weak People againſt Univerſity Education: Be firmly aſſured, that the whole Cry is made up by thoſe, who were either never ſent to a College, or through their Irregularities and Stupidity never made the leaſt Improvement while they were there. I have at leaſt forty of the latter ſort now in my Eye; ſeveral of them in this Town, whoſe *Learning*, *Manners*, *Temperance*, *Probity*, *Good-nature*, and *Politicks*, are all of a Piece: Others of them in the Country, oppreſſing their Tenants, tyrannizing over the Neighbourhood, cheating the Vicar, talking Nonſenſe, and

and getting drunk at the Seſſions. It is from ſuch Seminaries as theſe, that the World is provided with the ſeveral Tribes and Denominations of *Free-Thinkers*, who, in my Judgment, are not to be reformed by Arguments offered to prove the Truth of the *Chriſtian Religion*, becauſe Reaſoning will never make a Man correct an ill Opinion, which by Reaſoning he never acquir'd: For in the Courſe of Things, Men always grow vicious before they become Unbelievers; but if you would once convince the Town or Country Profligate, by Topicks drawn from the View of their own *Quiet*, *Reputation*, *Health*, and *Advantage*, their *Infidelity* would ſoon drop off: This, I confeſs, is no eaſy Task, becauſe it is almoſt in a literal Senſe, to fight with Beaſts. Now, to make it clear, that we are to look for no other Original of this *Infidelity*, whereof Divines ſo much complain, it is allowed on all Hands, that the People of *England* are more corrupt in their *Morals* than any other Nation this Day under the *Sun*: And this Corruption is manifeſtly owing to other Cauſes both *numerous* and *obvious*, much more than to the Publication of irreligious Books, which indeed are but the Conſequence of the former. For all the Writers againſt Chriſtianity, ſince the Revolution, have been of the loweſt Rank among Men, in regard to *Literature*, *Wit*, and good *Senſe*, and upon that Account wholly unqualified to propagate *Hereſies*, unleſs among a People already abandoned.

In an Age where every Thing diſliked by thoſe who think with the Majority, is called *Diſaffection*, it may perhaps be ill interpreted, when I venture to tell you, that this univerſal Depravation of *Manners*, is owing to the perpetual bandying of *Factions* among us for thirty Years paſt; when, without weighing the *Motives* of *Juſtice*, *Law*, *Conſcience*, or *Honour*, every Man adjuſts his *Principles* to thoſe of the *Party* he hath choſen, and among whom he may beſt find his own Account: But by reaſon of our frequent Viciſſitudes, Men who were impatient to be out of Play, have been forced to recant, or at leaſt to reconcile their former Tenets with every new Syſtem of Admiration. Add to this, that the old fundamental Cuſtom of annual Parliaments being wholly laid aſide, and Elections growing chargeable, ſince Gentlemen found that their Country Seats brought them in leſs than a Seat in the Houſe, the Voters, *that is to ſay*, the Bulk of the common People have been univerſally ſeduced into *Bribery*, *Perjury*, *Drunkenneſs*, *Malice*, and *Slanders*.

Not to be further tedious, or rather invidious, theſe are a few, among other Cauſes, which have contributed to the Ruin of our *Morals*, and conſequently to the Contempt of *Religion*: For, imagine to yourſelf, if you pleaſe, a landed Youth, whom his Mother would never ſuffer to look into a Book, for fear of ſpoiling his Eyes, got into Parliament, and obſerving all Enemies to the Clergy heard with the utmoſt

Applauſe; what Notions he muſt imbibe; how readily he will join in the Cry; what an Eſteem he will conceive of himſelf; and what a Contempt he muſt entertain, not only for his Vicar at home, but for the whole Order!

I therefore again conclude, That the Trade of *Infidelity* hath been taken up only for an Expedient to keep in Countenance that univerſal Corruption of *Morals*, which many other Cauſes firſt contributed to introduce and to cultivate. And thus, Mr. *Hobbs*'s Saying upon Reaſon, may be much more properly applied to Religion: That, *if Religion will be againſt a Man, a Man will be againſt Religion.* Though after all, I have heard a Profligate offer much ſtronger Arguments againſt paying his Debts, than ever he was known to do againſt *Chriſtianity*; indeed, the Reaſon was, becauſe in that Juncture he happened to be cloſer preſs'd by the *Bailiff* than the *Parſon.*

IGNORANCE may perhaps be the *Mother* of *Superſtition*, but *Experience* hath not proved it to be ſo of *Devotion*; for *Chriſtianity* always made the moſt eaſy and quickeſt Progreſs in civilized Countries. I mention this, becauſe it is affirmed, that the Clergy are in moſt Credit where Ignorance prevails, (and ſurely this Kingdom would be called the *Paradiſe* of Clergymen, if that Opinion were true) for which they inſtance *England* in the Times of *Popery.* But whoever knows any thing of three or four

Centuries before the Reformation, will find the little Learning then ſtirring, was more equally divided between the *Engliſh* Clergy and Laity than it is at preſent. There were ſeveral famous Lawyers in that *Period*, whoſe Writings are ſtill in the higheſt Repute, and ſome *Hiſtorians* and *Poets*, who were not of the *Church*. Whereas now a-days our Education is ſo corrupted, that you will hardly find a young Perſon of Quality with the leaſt Tincture of Knowledge, at the ſame time that the Clergy were never more learned, or ſo ſcurvily treated. Here among us, at leaſt, a Man of Letters, out of the three Profeſſions, is almoſt a Prodigy. And thoſe few, who have preſerved any Rudiments of Learning, are (except perhaps one or two Smatterers) the Clergy's Friends to a Man: And I dare appeal to any Clergyman in this Kingdom, whether the greateſt Dunce in his Pariſh is not always the moſt proud, wicked, fraudulent, and intractable of his Flock.

I THINK the Clergy have almoſt given over perplexing themſelves and their Hearers, with abſtruſe Points of Predeſtination, Election, and the like, at leaſt, it is time they ſhould; and therefore I ſhall not trouble you further upon this Head.

I HAVE now ſaid all I could think convenient, with relation to your Conduct in the Pulpit: Your Behaviour in Life is another Scene,

upon which I ſhall readily offer you my Thoughts, if you appear to deſire them from me, by your Approbation of what I have here written; if not, I have already troubled you too much.

I am SIR,

Jan. 9. 1719-20.

Your Affectionate

Friend and Servant.

THOUGHTS

THOUGHTS
ON
Various Subjects.

WE have juſt enough Religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another.

REFLECT on Things paſt, as Wars, Negotiations, Factions, &c. We enter ſo little into thoſe Intereſts, that we wonder how Men could poſſibly be ſo buſy and concerned for Things ſo tranſitory: Look on the preſent Times, we find the ſame Humour, yet wonder not at all.

A WISE Man endeavours, by conſidering all Circumſtances, to make Conjectures, and form Concluſions; but the ſmalleſt Accident intervening (and in the Courſe of Affairs it is impoſſible to foreſee all) does often produce ſuch Turns and Changes, that at laſt he is juſt as much in doubt of Events as the moſt ignorant and unexperienced Perſon.

POSITIVENESS is a good Quality for Preachers and Orators, becauſe he that would obtrude his Thoughts and Reaſons upon a Multitude, will convince others the more, as he appears convinced himſelf.

HOW is it poſſible to expect that Mankind will take Advice, when they will not ſo much as take Warning?

I FORGET whether Advice be among the loſt Things which *Ariſto* ſays are to be found in the Moon; That and Time ought to have been there.

NO Preacher is liſtened to but Time, which gives us the ſame Train and Turn of Thought that elder People have tried in vain to put into our Heads before.

WHEN we deſire or ſollicit any Thing, our Minds run wholly on the good Side or Circumſtances of it; when 'tis obtained, our Minds run wholly on the bad ones.

IN

IN a *Glaſs-Houſe* the Workmen often fling in a ſmall Quantity of freſh Coals, which ſeems to diſturb the Fire, but very much enlivens it. This ſeems to allude to a gentle ſtirring of the Paſſions, that the Mind may not languiſh.

RELIGION ſeems to have grown an Infant with Age, and requires Miracles to nurſe it, as it had in its Infancy.

ALL Fits of Pleaſure are ballanced by an equal Degree of Pain or Languor; 'tis like ſpending this Year Part of the next Year's Revenue.

THE latter Part of a wiſe Man's Life is taken up in curing the Follies, Prejudices, and falſe Opinions he had contracted in the former.

WOULD a Writer know how to behave himſelf with relation to Poſterity, let him conſider in old Books what he finds that he is glad to know, and what Omiſſions he moſt laments.

WHATEVER the Poets pretend, 'tis plain they give Immortality to none but themſelves: 'Tis *Homer* and *Virgil* we reverence and admire, not *Achilles* or *Æneas*. With Hiſtorians it is quite the contrary; our Thoughts are taken up with the Actions, Perſons, and Events we read, and we little regard the Authors.

WHEN a true Genius appears in the World, you may know him by this Sign, that the Dunces are all in Confederacy againſt him.

MEN who poſſeſs all the Advantages of Life, are in a State where there are many Accidents to diſorder and diſcompoſe, but few to pleaſe them.

'TIS unwiſe to puniſh Cowards with Ignominy; for if they had regarded that, they would not have been Cowards: Death is their proper Puniſhment, becauſe they fear it moſt.

THE greateſt Inventions were produced in the Times of Ignorance; as the Uſe of the *Compaſs*, *Gunpowder*, and *Printing*; and by the dulleſt Nation, as the *Germans*.

ONE Argument to prove that the common Relations of *Ghoſts* and *Spectres* are generally falſe, may be drawn from the Opinion held, that Spirits are never ſeen by more than one Perſon at a time; that is to ſay, it ſeldom happens to above one Perſon in a Company to be poſſeſſed with any high Degree of Spleen or Melancholy.

I AM apt to think, that in the Day of Judgment there will be ſmall Allowance given to the Wiſe for their Want of Morals, nor to the Ignorant for their Want of Faith, becauſe both are without Excuſe. This renders the Advantages

equal of Ignorance and Knowledge. But ſome Scruples in the Wiſe, and ſome Vices in the Ignorant, will perhaps be forgiven upon the Strength of Temptation to each.

THE Value of ſeveral Circumſtances in Story leſſens very much by Diſtance of Time, though ſome minute Circumſtances are very valuable; and it requires great Judgment in a Writer to diſtinguiſh.

'TIS grown a Word of courſe for Writers to ſay, this critical Age, as Divines ſay, this ſinful Age.

'TIS pleaſant to obſerve how free the preſent Age is in laying Taxes on the next: *Future Ages ſhall talk of this; this ſhall be famous to all Poſterity:* Whereas their Time and Thoughts will be taken up about preſent Things, as ours are now.

THE *Camelion*, who is ſaid to feed upon nothing but Air, hath of all Animals the nimbleſt Tongue.

WHEN a Man is made a Spiritual Peer he loſes his Sirname; when a Temporal, his Chriſtian Name.

IT is in Diſputes as in Armies, where the weaker Side ſets up falſe Lights, and makes a great Noiſe, to make the Enemy believe them

more numerous and ſtrong than they really are.

SOME Men, under the Notions of weeding out Prejudices, eradicate Virtue, Honeſty, and Religion.

IN all well inſtituted Commonwealths, Care has been taken to limit Mens Poſſeſſions; which is done for many Reaſons, and among the reſt, for one which perhaps is not often conſidered, That when Bounds are ſet to Mens Deſires, after they have acquired as much as the Laws will permit them, their private Intereſt is at an End, and they have nothing to do but to take care of the Publick.

THERE are but three Ways for a Man to revenge himſelf of the Cenſure of the World; to deſpiſe it, to return the like, or to endeavour to live ſo as to avoid it: The firſt of theſe is uſually pretended, the laſt is almoſt impoſſible, the univerſal Practice is for the ſecond.

HERODOTUS tells us, that in cold Countries Beaſts very ſeldom have Horns, but in hot they have very large ones. This might bear a pleaſant Application.

I NEVER heard a finer Piece of Satyr againſt *Lawyers*, than that of *Aſtrologers*, when they pretend by Rules of Art to tell when a Suit will end, and whether to the Advantage of the Plaintiff

tiff or Defendant; thus making the Matter depend entirely upon the Influence of the Stars, without the leaſt Regard to the Merits of the Cauſe.

THE Expreſſion in *Apocrypha* about *Tobit* and his Dog following him, I have often heard ridiculed; yet *Homer* has the ſame Words of *Telemachus* more than once; and *Virgil* ſays ſomething like it of *Evander*. And I take the Book of *Tobit* to be partly Poetical.

I HAVE known ſome Men poſſeſſed of good Qualities, which were very ſerviceable to others, but uſeleſs to themſelves; like a Sun-Dial on the Front of a Houſe, to inform the Neighbours and Paſſengers, but not the Owner within.

IF a Man would regiſter all his Opinions upon Love, Politicks, Religion, Learning, *&c.* beginning from his Youth, and ſo go on to old Age, what a Bundle of Inconſiſtencies and Contradictions would appear at laſt?

WHAT they do in Heaven we are ignorant of; what they do not we are told expreſly, That they neither marry, nor are given in Marriage.

WHEN a Man obſerves the Choice of Ladies now-a-days, in the diſpenſing of their Favours, can he forbear paying ſome Veneration to

the Memory of thoſe Mares mentioned by *Xenophon* *, who, while their Manes were on, that is, while they were in their Beauty, would never admit the Embraces of an Aſs.

'TIS a miſerable thing to live in Suſpence; it is the Life of a Spider.

Vive quidem, pende tamen, improba, dixit.
Ovid. Metam.

THE Stoical Scheme of ſupplying our Wants, by lopping off our Deſires, is like cutting off our Feet when we want Shoes.

PHYSICIANS ought not to give their Judgment of Religion, for the ſame Reaſon that Butchers are not admitted to be Jurors upon Life and Death.

THE Reaſon why ſo few Marriages are happy, is, becauſe young Ladies ſpend their Time in making Nets, not in making Cages.

IF a Man will obſerve as he walks the Streets, I believe he will find the merrieſt Countenances in Mourning-Coaches.

NOTHING more unqualifies a Man to act with Prudence, than a Misfortune that is attended with Shame and Guilt.

* *De Re Equeſtri.*

THE

THE Power of Fortune is confeſſed only by the Miſerable; for the Happy impute all their Succeſs to Prudence or Merit.

AMBITION often puts Men upon doing the meaneſt Offices; ſo Climbing is performed in the ſame Poſture with Creeping.

ILL Company is like a Dog, who dirts thoſe moſt whom he loves beſt.

CENSURE is the Tax a Man pays to the Publick for being eminent.

ALTHOUGH Men are accuſed for not knowing their own Weakneſs, yet perhaps as few know their own Strength. It is in Men as in Soils, where ſometimes there is a Vein of Gold which the Owner knows not of.

SATYR is reckon'd the eaſieſt of all Wit; but I take it to be otherwiſe in very bad Times: For it is as hard to ſatyrize well a Man of diſtinguiſhed Vices, as to praiſe well a Man of diſtinguiſhed Virtues. It is eaſy enough to do either to People of moderate Characters.

INVENTION is the Talent of Youth, and Judgment of Age; ſo that our Judgment grows harder to pleaſe, when we have fewer Things to offer it: This goes through the whole Commerce of Life. When we are old, our Friends find

find it difficult to pleaſe us, and are leſs concern'd whether we be pleas'd or no.

No wiſe Man ever wiſhed to be younger.

An idle Reaſon leſſens the Weight of the good ones you gave before.

The Motives of the beſt Actions will not bear too ſtrict an Enquiry. It is allow'd, that the Cauſe of moſt Actions, good or bad, may be reſolved into the Love of ourſelves: But the Self-Love of ſome Men inclines them to pleaſe others; and the Self-Love of others is wholly employ'd in pleaſing themſelves. This makes the great Diſtinction between Virtue and Vice. Religion is the beſt Motive of all Actions, yet Religion is allow'd to be the higheſt Inſtance of Self-Love.

When the World has once begun to uſe us ill, it afterwards continues the ſame Treatment with leſs Scruple or Ceremony, as Men do to a Whore.

Old Men view beſt at a diſtance with the Eyes of their Underſtanding as well as with thoſe of Nature.

Some People take more Care to hide their Wiſdom than their Folly.

Arbi-

ARBITRARY Power is the natural Object of Temptation to a Prince, as Wine or Women to a young Fellow, or a Bribe to a Judge, or Avarice to old Age, or Vanity to a Woman.

ANTHONY Henly's Farmer dying of an Aſthma, ſaid, Well, if I can get this Breath once *out*, I'll take care it ſhall never get *in* again.

THE Humour of exploding many Things under the Names of Trifles, Fopperies, and only imaginary Goods, is a very falſe Proof either of Wiſdom or Magnanimity, and a great Check to virtuous Actions. For inſtance, with regard to Fame: There is in moſt People a Reluctance and Unwillingneſs to be forgotten. We obſerve even among the Vulgar, how fond they are to have an Inſcription over their Grave. It requires but little Philoſophy to diſcover and obſerve that there is no intrinſick Value in all this; however, if it be founded in our Nature, as an Incitement to Virtue, it ought not to be ridiculed.

COMPLAINT is the largeſt Tribute Heaven receives, and the ſincereſt Part of our Devotion.

THE common Fluency of Speech in many Men, and moſt Women, is owing to a Scarcity of Matter, and Scarcity of Words; for whoever is a Maſter of Language, and hath a mind

full

full of Ideas, will be apt, in ſpeaking, to heſitate upon the Choice of both; whereas common Speakers have only one Sett of Ideas, and one Sett of Words to cloath them in; and theſe are always ready at the Mouth: So People come faſter out of a Church when it is almoſt empty, than when a Crowd is at the Door.

FEW are qualified to *ſhine* in Company; but it is in moſt Mens Power to be *agreeable*. The Reaſon therefore why Converſation runs ſo low at preſent, is not the Defect of Underſtanding, but Pride, Vanity, ill Nature, Affectation, Singularity, Poſitiveneſs, or ſome other Vice, the Effect of a wrong Education.

TO be vain is rather a Mark of Humility than Pride. Vain Men delight in telling what Honours have been done them, what great Company they have kept, and the like; by which they plainly confeſs, that theſe Honours were more than their Due, and ſuch as their Friends would not believe if they had not been told: Whereas a Man truly proud thinks the greateſt Honours below his Merit, and conſequently ſcorns to boaſt. I therefore deliver it as a Maxim, that whoever deſires the Character of a proud Man ought to conceal his Vanity.

LAW, in a free Country, is, or ought to be, the Determination of the Majority of thoſe who have Property in Land.

ONE

ONE Argument uſed to the Diſadvantage of Providence, I take to be a very ſtrong one in its Defence. It is objected, that Storms and Tempeſts, unfruitful Seaſons, Serpents, Spiders, Flies, and other noxious or troubleſome Animals, with many more Inſtances of the like kind, diſcover an Imperfection in Nature, becauſe human Life would be much eaſier without them: But the Deſign of Providence may clearly be perceived in this Proceeding. The Motions of the Sun and Moon; in ſhort, the whole Syſtem of the Univerſe, as far as Philoſophers have been able to diſcover and obſerve, are in the utmoſt Degree of Regularity and Perfection; but wherever God hath left to Man the Power of interpoſing a Remedy by Thought or Labour, there he hath placed Things in a State of Imperfection, on purpoſe to ſtir up human Induſtry, without which Life would ſtagnate, or indeed rather could not ſubſiſt at all: *Curis acuunt mortalia corda.*

PRAISE is the Daughter of Preſent Power.

How inconſiſtent is Man with himſelf!

I HAVE known ſeveral Perſons of great Fame for Wiſdom in publick Affairs and Counſels, govern'd by fooliſh Servants.

I HAVE

I HAVE known great Miniſters, diſtinguiſhed for Wit and Learning, who preferred none but Dunces.

I HAVE known Men of great Valour Cowards to their Wives.

I HAVE known Men of the greateſt Cunning perpetually cheated.

I KNEW three great Miniſters, who could exactly compute and ſettle the Accounts of a Kingdom, but were wholly ignorant of their own Oeconomy.

THE Preaching of Divines, helps to preſerve well-inclined Men in the Courſe of Virtue, but ſeldom or never reclaims the Vicious.

PRINCES uſually make wiſer Choices than the Servants whom they truſt for the Diſpoſal of Places: I have known a Prince, more than once, chuſe an able Miniſter; but I never obſerved that Miniſter to uſe his Credit in the Diſpoſal of an Employment to a Perſon whom he thought the fitteſt for it. One of the greateſt in this Age own'd and excus'd the Matter from the Violence of Parties, and the Unreaſonableneſs of Friends.

SMALL Cauſes are ſufficient to make a Man uneaſy, when great Ones are not in the Way: For

For want of a *Block* he will ſtumble at a *Straw*.

DIGNITY, high Station, or great Riches, are in ſome ſort neceſſary to old Men, in order to keep the younger at a diſtance, who are otherwiſe too apt to inſult them upon the Score of their Age.

EVERY Man deſires to live long; but no Man would be old.

LOVE of Flattery in moſt Men proceeds from the mean Opinion they have of themſelves; in Women from the contrary.

IF Books and Laws continue to encreaſe as they have done for fifty Years paſt, I am in ſome Concern for future Ages, how any Man will be Learned, or any Man a Lawyer.

KINGS are commonly ſaid to have *long Hands*; I wiſh they had as *long Ears*.

PRINCES in their Infancy, Childhood, and Youth, are ſaid to diſcover prodigious Parts and Wit, to ſpeak Things that ſurprize and aſtoniſh: Strange, ſo many hopeful Princes, and ſo many ſhameful Kings! If they happen to die young, they would have been Prodigies of Wiſdom and Virtue: If they live, they are often Prodigies indeed, but of another Sort.

POLI-

POLITICKS, as the Word is commonly underſtood, are nothing but Corruptions, and conſequently of no Uſe to a good King, or a good Miniſtry, for which Reaſon Courts are ſo overrun with Politicks.

SILENUS, the Foſter-Father of *Bacchus*, is always carried by an *Aſs*, and has Horns on his Head. The Moral is, that Drunkards are led by Fools, and have a great Chance to be Cuckolds.

VENUS, a beautiful good-natur'd Lady, was the Goddeſs of Love; *Juno*, a terrible Shrew, the Goddeſs of Marriage; and they were always mortal Enemies.

THOSE who are againſt Religion, muſt needs be Fools; and therefore we read that, of all Animals, God refus'd the *Firſt-born* of an Aſs.

A VERY little Wit is valued in a Woman, as we are pleas'd with a few Words ſpoken plain by a Parrot.

A NICE Man is a Man of naſty Ideas.

APOLLO was held the God of Phyſick, and Sender of Diſeaſes: Both were originally the ſame Trade, and ſtill continue.

OLD

OLD Men and Comets have been reverenced for the ſame Reaſon; their long Beards, and Pretences to foretel Events.

A PERSON was ask'd at Court, what he thought of an Ambaſſador, and his Train, who were all Embroidery and Lace, full of Bows, Cringes, and Geſtures? He ſaid, it was *Solomon*'s Importation, *Gold and Apes.*

THERE is a Story in *Pauſanias*, of a Plot for betraying of a City, diſcover'd by the Braying of an *Aſs:* The Cackling of *Geeſe* ſaved the *Capitol*; and *Cataline*'s Conſpiracy was diſcover'd by a *Whore.* Theſe are the only three Animals, as far as I remember, famous in Hiſtory for *Evidences* and *Informers.*

MOST Sorts of Diverſion in Men, Children, and other Animals, is an Imitation of Fighting.

AUGUSTUS meeting an *Aſs* with a *lucky Name*, foretold himſelf good Fortune. I meet many Aſſes, but none of them have lucky Names.

IF a Man makes me keep my Diſtance, the Comfort is, he keeps his at the ſame Time.

WHO can deny that all Men are violent Lovers of Truth, when we ſee them ſo poſitive in

in their Errors, which they will maintain out of their Zeal to Truth, although they contradict themſelves every Day of their Lives?

THAT was excellently obſerv'd, ſay I, when I read a Paſſage in an Author, where his Opinion agrees with mine. When we differ, there I pronounce him to be *miſtaken*.

VERY few Men, properly ſpeaking, live at preſent, but are providing to live another Time.

AS univerſal a Practice as Lying is, and as eaſy one as it ſeems, I do not remember to have heard three good Lies in all my Converſation, even from thoſe who were moſt celebrated in that Faculty.

FINIS.

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